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GREEK SCULPTURE

WILEY Blackwell

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Hervé Lewandowski.

Preface

> “Did artists like Pheidias and Praxiteles,” he said, “after going up to heaven and making mechanical copies of the forms of the gods, then represent them by their art, or was there something else that stood in attendance upon them in making their sculpture?”… Certainly you would not say it was anything other than imitation (*mimesis*)?…
>
> “Imagination,” (*Phantasia*) Apollonius answered, “wrought these, an artificer much wiser than imitation; for imitation will represent that which can be seen with the eyes, but *phantasia* will represent that which cannot, for the latter proceeds with reality as its basis.”
>
> Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 6.19; tr. Pollitt 1990, 224.

Long before Philostratus recorded this exchange in the third century CE, the sculpture of the Greeks was much admired for its ability to capture the essence of divine anthropomorphism with minimal recourse to the abstract forms favored by contemporaneous cultures. Indeed, it was this very corporeal quality that caused Greek sculpture to be rejected, and often destroyed, by earlier Christian cultures, which preferred less naturalistic ways of depicting the unknowable. The model of the Greeks was embraced again in the Renaissance and emulated throughout the following centuries, adapted and exploited for an ever-evolving succession of purposes and perspectives. Whether accepted or rejected as a model, the normative status of Classical sculpture as an expression of ideal beauty persisted from Phidias’ day to our own, and the study of Greek sculpture, and how it came to look and function as it did in both its own and later times, continues to hold both relevance and appeal.

Subject and Scope

As is patent from the title, this is an account of the sculptures created by and for the ancient Greeks. Organized into 14 chapters to facilitate its use as a college text, it is also intended as an introduction to the topic for a wide range of readers interested in the history and culture of ancient Greece. Given the demands of the format, difficult choices had to be made in establishing the parameters of the study and deciding which monuments and issues to discuss. Greek sculpture, it is argued here, begins as a closely defined and continuously practiced craft with the sudden appearance of human scale (and larger) marble statuary and relief just before 600 BCE. Therefore, the examination of sculpture in Greece before that time, a worthy subject in its own right, is limited to an outline of those features that contributed most clearly and directly to what would subsequently occur. This book concludes with an account of the late Roman Republican art market and the Greek workshops that arose to meet that demand. The production of sculptures that are by any criteria Greek (style, subject, material, authorship) continued unabated for centuries, right down to the end of the Roman Empire, as new sculptured forms emerged to accommodate expanding categories of customer and purpose. The concluding chapters explore the ways in which the forms and functions of sculpture inherited from Classical Greece were adapted to the political and social transformations that took place first in the century following Alexander's conquests, and then again as Rome supplanted the Hellenistic kingdoms and became the ultimate source of authority in the eastern Mediterranean.

The focus of this account is on monumental sculpture, including votive and funerary statuary in stone and bronze, marble reliefs set up for much the same purposes, and the figural sculptures incorporated into the fabric of monumental stone temples. There was also a prodigious production of works in other materials, especially smaller votives in bronze and terracotta, which, since accessible to a broad segment of the population, are of importance to a history of religious and social practices. They are not, however, sufficiently relevant to the emphases of this study to displace the monuments chosen.

Approaches and Emphases

Based as it is on my experience studying and teaching Greek sculpture, this book inevitably reflects my own prejudices and interests. First among these is the study of style and stylistic development. Sculpture in Greece quite clearly distinguishes itself from that of coeval and earlier Mediterranean societies by the fact that, and the way that, it changes in style over time. Minimally, this diachronic change is handy, since it should allow one to assign a date to works of sculpture on the basis of style alone. However, one must look beyond this expedient and consider, insofar as possible, how and why such a change took place. While a similar transformation recurs in Renaissance Europe, enhancing both the familiarity and the appeal of Greek sculpture in the modern western world, one must try to consider the phenomenon as it played out in ancient Greece on its own terms rather than our own. Several theses presented in this book provide a starting point. Stylistic development in Greek sculpture occurs not at a consistent pace but much more quickly in some periods than in others, in each case for reasons that we can plausibly identify. Moreover, new styles do not always completely displace old, so differing styles are often used contemporaneously. Finally, this development results less from phenomena specific to the practice of sculpture than from changes that occur throughout all aspects of Greek culture, resulting from both the particular qualities of Greek society and the specific historical circumstances with which succeeding eras were confronted.

A second focus, therefore, is on the possible impact of historical processes and events on the appearance of and changes in Greek sculpture. The subject consequently expands from the consideration of style and stylistic change to that of the choices in subject matter that are reflected in statuary, relief, and, most importantly, architectural sculpture. The latter works, being conspicuous, expensive, and usually publicly funded, should theoretically be the most responsive to presumed watershed events in the rocky relationships both among Greek city-states and between the Greeks and barbarian adversaries. Scholars have long constructed and contextualized iconographic programs of architectural sculpture, although there is much disagreement about whether such displays were intended to be read more from an historical or a religious perspective, and, for that matter, whether that distinction is even meaningful.

From this objective emerges a third and final focus – on the identification and analysis of evidence. It is always a surprise to those new to Classical studies to discover how little we really know. The study of Greek sculpture is especially ill served in this respect, as much by ancient attitudes as by the hazards of preservation. Only a miniscule fraction of the art that once existed is preserved today, so it should be no surprise that the two most significant finds of Classical statuary in the later twentieth century, the Riace bronzes (Fig. 8.13) and the Motya Youth (Fig. 6.14), appeared upon discovery to be so anomalous as to prompt a profound reevaluation of how much we actually know about Greek sculpture. Moreover, the Greeks scarcely mention sculpture in their writings, and the works that did so are primarily known from their listing in Roman sources. Analyzing the latter to detect and evaluate the former is no easy matter, thus process itself becomes paramount.

Chronology

That this sequence of styles was recognized early on is explicit in the extant works of Roman authors such as Pliny, Cicero, and Quintilian, who surely adopted the scheme from their Hellenistic sources. These Latin writers were already familiar to scholars in the Renaissance, but the most influential early attempt at a systematic history of Greek sculpture occurs in Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity*, published in 1764. He divided Greek art into four phases. Most important (to him) were his second and third phases – marking an acme of artistic accomplishment conceived according to an organic model of growth, bloom, and decay. These he termed "High" and "Beautiful;" together they roughly correspond to what we would call the Classical period, preceded by an "Older" style and followed by a style of "Imitators." Thus

Older Style	before 480
High Style	480–400
Beautiful Style	400–323
Style of Imitators	after 323 (including Roman).

These have since been refined, renamed, and canonized into the chronology we use today:

Geometric	900–700	
Archaic	700–480	[Orientalizing 700–600]
Early Classical	480–450	
High Classical	450–400	
Late Classical	400–323	
Hellenistic	323–30.	

His Older Style should correspond to what we call Archaic, but nineteenth-century discoveries, especially at Olympia, led to the recognition of a pre-Archaic Geometric style. Around the same time, Winckelmann’s late period (of imitators) was renamed Hellenistic, a term that originated in studies of the Levant, signifying its Hellenized rather than Hellenic status. The concept was extended soon thereafter to all the lands once under Alexander’s rule, coming ultimately to embrace the entire Mediterranean. The separation of Early from High Classical was especially prompted by the nineteenth-century finds from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and the consequent re-evaluation of this stage as transitional from the Archaic to the Classical, as it is in fact termed in some schemes. More significant is the re-evaluation of the fourth-century style as Late Classical rather than Beautiful; this change is far from neutral, since the term late has an obviously pejorative connotation within the structure of an organic developmental model. Consequently, the accomplishments of fourth-century sculptors have come to be associated as much with the succeeding Hellenistic as with the preceding High Classical, an issue with which we will grapple in chapters to come. A final adjustment comes at the beginning, with the introduction, and then the rejection, of Orientalizing as a separate period. The rationale for this change is that limiting the phenomenon to a single period understates Greek indebtedness to Near Eastern sources, not only in art but also in mythology, religion, and philosophy. The lesson here is, of course, that the structure and terminology used to describe the processes of stylistic change over time do not merely reflect but actually construct the ways in which we conceive them.

Some Final Notes on Format and Content

While several recent books on Greek sculpture have adopted a thematic arrangement, the purposes and the emphases of this book favor a chronological scheme. I cannot claim to have distributed these chapters evenly over the time periods covered, but, as noted above, the pace of change, as well as the chronological distribution of the material and contextual evidence itself, is similarly irregular. The distribution of coverage is intended to support the larger objectives of the work. Each chapter, in addition, includes a breakout box that expands on and clarifies a specific topic useful for the study of Greek sculpture, including the materials and techniques used in its creation, the nature and ethnicities of the sculptors themselves, relationships to parallel media of architecture and painting, contemporary historical and contextual sources, and the writers of Roman times who have so shaped our conceptions of an artistic production occurring half a millennium earlier. These, it is hoped, not only complement and amplify points made in the text but also, and more importantly, help the reader think more deeply about how we know what we know.

Additional resources include a glossary of terms and a parallel timeline, drawn from items mentioned in the text, listing monuments, events, and significant developments in literature and philosophy. For reasons that become clear upon reading, dates provided are mostly approximate, and all dates are BCE unless otherwise indicated. Names have insofar as possible been Latinized, not always without awkwardness. Finally, at the end of the book is a brief and annotated list of references and readings for each chapter. These are selective, limited to publications in English that are major works, relatively recent studies, or interpretations specifically referenced in the text. Intended to provide only a next level of investigation for the reader who desires more information, each contains much fuller bibliography for those who wish to delve further, as I sincerely hope many readers will be prompted to do.

Acknowledgements

I was first drawn to the study of Greek sculpture by my teacher and mentor Bruni Ridgway, whose imprint on my thinking remains evident even today, some three decades later. Her exhortations to question received wisdom and look carefully with one's own eyes inspired an entire generation of scholars, and I am privileged to count myself among them. I would also like to thank the two anonymous readers of my manuscript and Dr Michael Squire, who waived anonymity, for their extremely useful observations, comments, and suggestions. The editorial staff at Wiley-Blackwell has been, to a person, supportive and encouraging throughout the entire process of composition and production. The College of Arts and Sciences at Ohio State provided me with grants that helped fund two trips to Greece, allowing me to re-examine and photograph a very large number of the works discussed in this book. Finally, I would like especially to thank my wife Monica Barran Fullerton, who read the entire manuscript in each draft, for her keen eye and invaluable suggestions, as well as for her patience and support, both in Columbus and in Greece. This book would not exist without her contributions.

1

Beginnings and Before: Greek Sculpture in the Iron Age (circa 1000–600)

The question of beginning is always a thorny one, for nearly any topic can be pursued back in time until all evidence disappears; yet, to do so usually takes one far, too far, from the subject at hand. In studies of ancient Greek culture, an advantage is provided by the Greeks themselves, who figured their years from 776, the date of the first Olympic games. Should we do the same, we would find, at Olympia itself, the first traces of a continuous tradition in Greek sculptural production and usage. Yet the Greeks did not believe that time itself began in 776; we know from Homer the stories that the Greeks, as early as the eighth century, were telling one another of an earlier heroic age. Working from such accounts, archaeologists set out to find the physical settings for these legends – at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, Knossos, and other sites. They discovered earlier Greek cultures, which, unlike the neighboring kingdoms of Egypt and the Near East, left behind no historical accounts of their own. Lacking these, scholars had recourse only to material remains and so borrowed from the poet Hesiod the term "Bronze Age," since the tools and weapons these cultures left behind were forged from that metal. Chronological structure within that era, in the absence of dynastic lists, was adapted from nearby Egypt in the form of a tripartite scheme (Early, Middle, Late) that corresponds to the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms.

In Egypt at that time, as well as in the Near East, conspicuous display of sculpture in stone and bronze, on scales ranging from miniature to colossal, played an important part in the expression of royal power. Although some Minoans and Mycenaeans surely had personal experience of these impressive sculptured monuments, they produced nothing comparable at Knossos, Mycenae, or elsewhere in the Aegean. The Bronze Age Greeks developed their own types of sculpture, working largely with native materials, in styles of their own, and serving functions that were characteristic also of later Hellenic work (see box). Small *votive* sculptures, for example, in bronze and terracotta especially, were used extensively in the modest domestic shrines and rural sanctuaries of the Minoans and Mycenaeans. Funerary sculpture is documented by the many marble idols from third-millennium graves on the Cycladic islands and also, a millennium later, by stone reliefs set up as markers in the royal cemetery (Grave Circle A) at Mycenae. Yet both of these categories of sculpture were limited to a particular time and place, reflecting a production that suddenly and inexplicably stopped long before the end of the Bronze Age. Despite the considerable amount of sculptured material that was produced, it is all but impossible to *characterize* prehistoric Aegean sculpture as a whole, since it consists of several circumscribed and largely unrelated categories of production.

Box Uses of Sculpture in Ancient Greece

Archaic and Classical Greek sculpture served a narrow range of functions, all of which had to do with ritual practices. The Greeks themselves had little to say about the subject, so current beliefs are based more on inference than documentation. It is clear, however, that sculpture in ancient Greece was not, in either private or public spaces, used as visual embellishment without distinct religious purpose, as was conventionally done in Roman times.

It is often alleged or assumed that the most significant of ancient Greek images was the cult statue set up in the central room (**cella**) of a temple intended to “house” it; the statue, in which the deity could reside, could then “look” out through the temple’s front door to observe and receive the sacrifices and libations performed at an altar erected outside. The cult statue, temple, and altar together facilitated the process of interaction between deity and worshipper and ensured the presence of the god at the ritual. While this model is generally accurate, it is somewhat restrictive. The cult statue/temple/altar triad was common, but each could exist without the other(s). Moreover, a cult statue could serve more than one function; the giant gold and ivory statue in the Parthenon was at the same time part of the state treasury.

Many statues were votives, so-called because they fulfill a vow; inscribed dedications make clear that these were given as gifts (either personal or communal) to a deity in hopes of securing its beneficence in return. A term often used was **agalma**, or “pleasing thing,” but what constituted an agalma was not always obvious. It could represent the god himself or even another god, or it could substitute for a worshipper; it is not always easy to tell the difference. It could be an animal, perhaps but not necessarily representing a substitute sacrifice, or another creature such as a sphinx. Votives could be statues or reliefs, large or small, cheap or expensive, in almost any material. The cost was important, as an indicator of the magnitude of devotion involved, but equally so was the ritual act itself, of which the votive was a lasting reminder.

Sculptures were also used to adorn temples, in locations that were dictated by the architectural **order** employed. Subjects were drawn all but exclusively from episodes in Greek mythology. Some with universal applicability, such as the battle between gods and giants (**Gigantomachy**), were used frequently. Others were more local or limited in signification and occur rarely. Scholars focus intently on the relationships among the stories on a temple and consider how the embodied themes relate to the historical circumstances of the building’s construction. Did they simply reflect the shared values and religious beliefs of the society, were some myths meant to be metaphors for actual historical events, or were both readings simultaneously possible and intended?

Sculptures were also used as grave markers. Especially in Archaic times, funerary statues are mostly of the same types as used for votive functions – nude male **kouroi**, draped female **korai**, sphinxes and other beasts – and are equally enigmatic in subject and meaning. Grave reliefs are usually more specific than statues, characterizing the deceased as a warrior, athlete, mother, or child. The Classical era has no counterpart to the Archaic funerary kouros and kore. Relief sculptures are now much more commonly used as grave monuments than statuary; these become so frequent and elaborate in fourth-century Athens that they were banned as excessively boastful by Macedonian overlords in 317, testifying once again to the social and political power of publicly displayed images.

Later Greeks on occasion came across artifacts from the heroic era, and that experience played no small role in their conception and construction of their own past. Occasionally we can be certain that this happened, as in the case of the fifteenth-century terracotta head reused seven centuries later as a cult object on Cycladic Kea. The most conspicuous of all such relics must have been the great Lion Gate at Mycenae, which has stood above the ground, with the fortifications it adorned, continuously from its installation around 1250 (Figure 1.1). The only monumental work of sculpture from the Greek Bronze Age, this great limestone relief sits atop the citadel's main gate as part of an enlarged circuit erected from massive stones in anticipation of troubles that would indeed materialize a half-century later. The relief has an architectural as well as decorative function: it screens the triangular open space left in the masonry in order to relieve the stress atop the gate's huge lintel block. The scene is static, symmetrical, and governed by principles of heraldic symmetry, influenced by Minoan sources and ultimately the Near East. The idea of gate decoration, and perhaps the carving technique as well, may also have come from parts east, most likely from the Hittites of central Anatolia. But the individual forms here, the felines (lions, griffins, sphinxes?), the hourglass-shaped altars on which they rest their forepaws, and the downwardly tapering column, are all part of a Minoan legacy that had been transformed over the previous centuries into a distinctly Mycenaean art. Like its Hittite counterparts, this sculpture was meant to be *apotropaic*, that is, to turn back unseen threats just as the gate it adorns was to repel more tangible dangers. Most important, it was, as far as we can tell, a *unique* monument, a synthesis of influences from other media and cultures, made for this one particular purpose at this one point in time, by a culture with no known tradition of monumental sculpture.

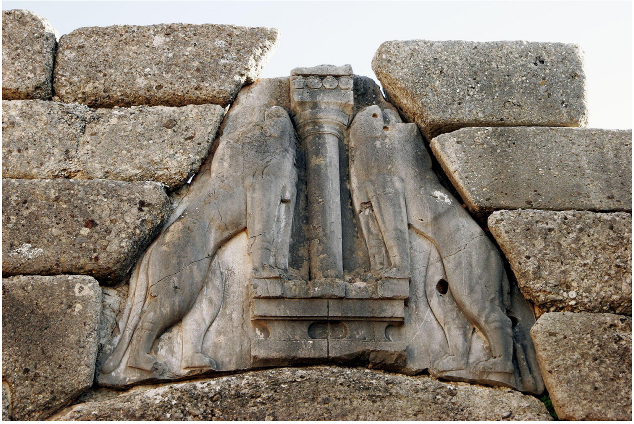

Figure 1.1 Mycenae, Lion Gate. Limestone. Circa 1250. H. 10′ 2″ (3.1 m).

Source: © age fotostock/Alamy.

Sculpture and the Geometric Style

Not only was the Lion Gate without predecessors, it had no immediate followers either; it may have inspired the mythmakers of succeeding generations, but not its sculptors. Nor did it fulfill its intended function, for Mycenae *was* brought down – and Tiryns, and Pylos and the rest of the citadel sites catalogued by Homer in the *Iliad*. Some fell suddenly and violently, others more gradually owing to the changed economic circumstances that were brought about by the collapse of Mycenaean palace society. While there are important elements of continuity, such as language and religion, some features of Bronze Age society disappear altogether in the eleventh and tenth centuries: fortified palatial complexes and associated monumental tombs, figural wall painting, and writing. Yet, tombs with imported goods are more common in this era than had been previously thought. One important import from Cyprus was the technique of extracting and forging iron, a metal more readily available in Greece than those needed to make bronze (copper and tin) and one that could be worked to a sharper and more durable edge. This early "Iron Age" (or "Dark Age") culture was not entirely imageless, but the artifacts that were locally made, mostly pottery, reflect a distinct lack of interest in the representation of any identifiable object; the human figure is especially conspicuous by its near total absence. Moreover, explicit representations of the scenes and subjects of Greek mythology, only imaginatively detected even in the considerable corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean art, were long believed to have first occurred in the art of the eighth century, or even later. One can imagine, then, the surprise when, among the remarkable finds at the Dark Age site of Lefkandi on Euboea, there was unearthed a terracotta *centaur* (horse–man hybrid creature) that has given that site, succeeded by no known Classical city, its primary lasting fame (Figure 1.2).

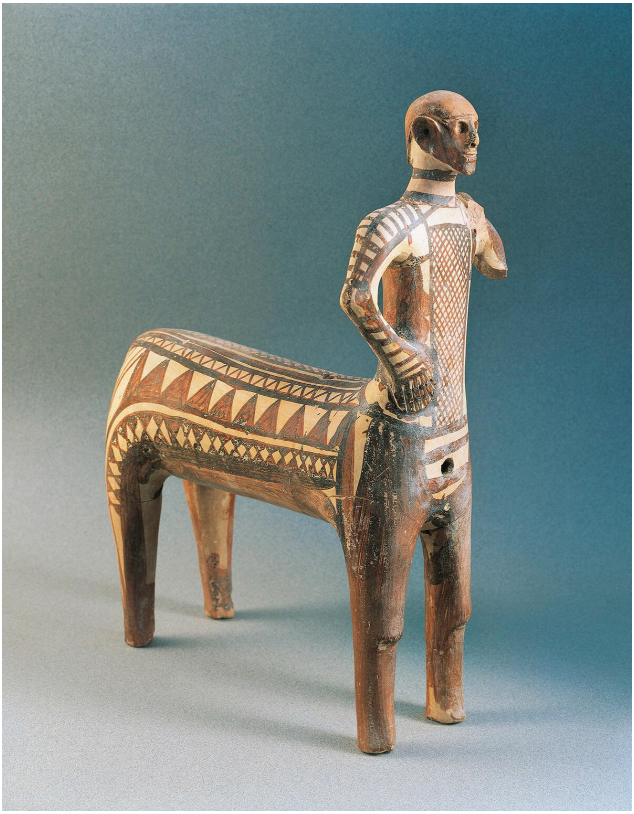

Figure 1.2 Terracotta centaur from cemetery at Lefkandi, Euboea. Eretria, Archaeological Museum. Circa 900. H. 2′ 2″ (0.36 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library.

The production of small votive statuary, common in the Bronze Age, never died out completely; Crete, with its important Dark Age “refuge” settlements such as Karphi and Kavousi produced many terracotta “goddesses” in a lingering Minoan style and an occasional bronze statuette as well. On the mainland, a few zoomorphic ceramic creations were attempted by potters of the tenth century. The Lefkandi centaur, however, stands out for its size (well over a foot tall), its quality, and especially its subject. Already broken in antiquity, its head and body were found associated with different graves; signs of repair suggest that this was a valued object. Its painted decoration, by comparison with that on funerary vases, places it circa 900. The body is wheel thrown, with limbs, torso, and head modeled separately and attached before firing. Ventilation holes indicate experience in firing this kind of object. Its forms are simplified, in keeping with the formalized aesthetic of contemporary vase painting. Detail is at a minimum, but there is indication of joints in the legs, separate fingers, and modeled facial features, including large ears.

Fantastic creatures were common enough in Bronze Age art, but they were limited to items from the Near Eastern repertoire, mostly sphinxes and griffins. The centaur was not included in that cast and is generally taken to be a Greek creation, derived, perhaps, from the appearance of a man on horseback. It certainly plays a role (indeed, several) in Greek mythology and comes to be frequently represented in sculpture and painting. Its improbable combination of forms embodies the centaur’s ambivalence. He is an emblem of the monstrous, like other such non-real creatures, but, being partially *anthropomorphic* (having human form), he represents the will to transgressive behavior that exists within humankind, as opposed to the inimical natural forces that threaten from without. The centaur can be immoderate and violent, especially under the influence of strong drink, but he can also be highly civilized and wise. One of the latter, Chiron, tutor to heroes such as Achilles, Jason, and Heracles, may be represented here. A nick in his left foreleg, deliberately added before painting and firing, could indicate the wound he accidentally received from Heracles. Concerning the role this object played among the tomb furnishings, or indeed whether it was even made for the grave, one can only speculate.

The fact that an interpretation for this object can be sought within the realm of classical myth indicates that the passage from the prehistory of Minoans and Mycenaeans to the historical civilization of classical Greece is well underway; the watershed, wherever and whatever it may have been, is now crossed. One defining feature of this newly evolving culture is the establishment of clearly defined *sanctuaries* for the practice of cult. These may be small and modest, or extensive and physically spectacular; they may be strictly local, or involve Greeks from all reaches of the Mediterranean, and thus termed **Panhellenic**. Four were of special importance – Delphi (Apollo), Isthmia (Poseidon), Nemea (Zeus), and Olympia (Zeus), which was premier among them and the first to become an *agonistic* (*agon* = competition) sanctuary. Its games were founded, according to tradition, by the heroes Hercules or Pelops or both; there was surely a Mycenaean presence at Olympia, and, it is assumed, cult activity as well. The site is especially rich in early votive sculptures; some come from as far back as the tenth and ninth centuries, but the majority by far are roughly contemporary with, or later than, the first historical Olympiad in 776.

The subjects of these votives vary. There are many animals, both domestic and wild. Some, such as the bulls, may have been substitutes for, or lasting markers of, *sacrifice* (offerings made to a deity) or may have held other meanings. Especially prominent are horses, with their obvious heroic and aristocratic associations (Figure 1.3). The eighth-century examples are clearly conceived and carefully rendered; the individual features of the beast are suggested through geometric approximations that give the style, and the era, its name. Artistic representation necessarily involves a compromise between the two opposing approaches, the perceptual and the conceptual. Most simply put, the former strives to show things as they appear to the observer's eye, whether physically accurate or not; the latter appeals to what the viewer knows to be there, whether it is visible or not. As we will observe, the development of Greek art can be understood in terms of a gradual but continual shift along the spectrum of possibilities between the two polarities. In its reliance on abstract rather than naturalistic forms, the Geometric style locates itself toward the conceptual pole of this spectrum. The Geometric style is, moreover, both analytic and generic. In other words, the artist portrays his subject in terms of its clearly articulated component parts, and the simplified forms used in this portrayal are essential and universal rather than momentary or particular. This approach, and this style, was born from a Dark Age tradition in which vase shapes are similarly analyzed and articulated through systems of non-figural, geometric ornament. The patterns used are intricate, rhythmic, and formulaic; they have been compared to textiles on the one hand and Homeric poetry on the other. While Greek art changes over time in its relative conceptualism and perceptualism, it remains at all times both analytic and general, so it can be said that it is with the Geometric figural style that Greek art, as we know it, is born.

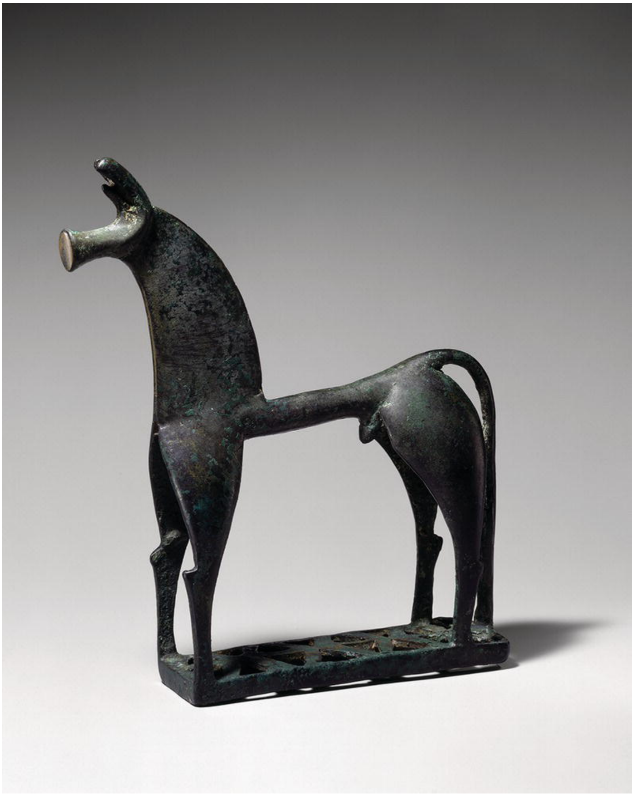

Figure 1.3 Geometric horse. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 21.88.24. Bronze. Eighth century. H. 7″ (0.176 m). Circa 750–700.

Source: © 2015. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/ Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

This horse has its own base, but many others were attached to the large ring handles of *tripod cauldrons*, on which they may stand either alone or together with a human figure, generally a helmeted male with his right hand raised and left lowered. These warriors are interpreted as leading horses and/or brandishing a spear. The cauldrons themselves – large bronze three-legged bowls – were expensive votives; the form was used as a prize in athletic competitions, and those from Olympia have long been explained as having been dedicated there by victors. Warriors and horses fit in with the heroic and aristocratic imagery prevalent on painted vases, and with the elite status of the games' participants. They might also reference equestrian competition at the site, like the bronze charioteers that have also been found there; the distinction between the agonistic and the heroic is not always clear. These votive luxury objects were therefore thank offerings not only for good fortune in the games, but also for good fortune in being born to the dominant class. The elision of hero and aristocrat was a critical element of this message, and the essentialism of the Geometric style was especially well suited to deliver it.

The Geometric period, of course, saw not only the birth of major Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia but also of the Greek **poleis** (sing. **polis**) – the basic political and geographic units of historical Greece, each of which comprised a center of concentrated population and a variously extensive range of surrounding territory. Structures of local rule varied considerably from place to place, and over time, but each was to some degree participatory within various levels of exclusivity; the type of monarchy implied by both Homer and archaeology for the Mycenaeans no longer existed. This shift in the social structure defines the difference between heroic and historic Greece as much as replacement of bronze by iron – probably more so. The poleis were politically independent of, although incessantly intruding on, one another, but they shared a language, economy, and, of course, religion. Indeed, the genesis of the Panhellenic sanctuaries has everything to do with the external and internal dynamics of the polis, since they offered a locus for both athletic competition and social discourse among the elites who constituted most of the participants in contest and cult alike. Despite its agonistic mission and the obvious opportunity for "patriotism" that this may have offered, institutions such as the Olympic games served equally to bind the elites of different poleis together and reinforce their shared separation from their own less privileged classes at home. Polis and Panhellenic sanctuary alike were therefore products of the fundamentally *competitive* nature of Greece society, a quality that, more than any other, distinguishes it from those of Egypt and the Near East, for example, which relied more on collaboration enforced from a highly centralized power structure. Both characteristically Greek institutions resulted from, and reinforced, the contrasting relations, both competitive and collaborative, among poleis and among classes, and it was in the balance between these opposing forces that order was elicited from the chaos of the Dark Age.

Despite the redundancy of many Geometric votives from Olympia, there are some imaginative and exceptional pieces. These include lion hunts with dogs, multi-figured animal scenes, musicians, a bow-stringer, a helmet-maker, and a man drinking from a vessel. Some are surely mythological, including this group of a man and a centaur, said to have come from Olympia (Figure 1.4). It fully embodies the late Geometric style in its articulation of both human and equine form and the clear indication of the differences between them. There are several myths of conflict between human and centaur in individual combat. Heracles alone was involved in at least three, and also full-out battles, such as those commonly depicted in later painting and sculpture. One that occurs with some frequency in the subsequent century is the vanquishing by Heracles of Nessus, who attempted to make off with the hero's wife Deianeira, displaying the lack of restraint for which centaurs were infamous. The popularity of this scene lies in the dramatic and violent encounter between the anthropomorphic and the monstrous, a visual metaphor for the increasingly adventurous world in which alien lands and consequent challenges were encountered and overcome. But perhaps there is more to it than that. One outcome of this particular encounter was Heracles' murder of his family, the crime for which he was enslaved to Eurystheus; as a result of this he accomplished his penitential labors and achieved immortality. This form of narrative through which a single image can prompt a stream of sequential, causative events in the mind of a knowledgeable viewer is a characteristic form of Greek artistic signification in later times. Some, however, deny the existence of any mythological narrative in Geometric art, and one must be circumspect about reading earlier imagery from a later perspective.

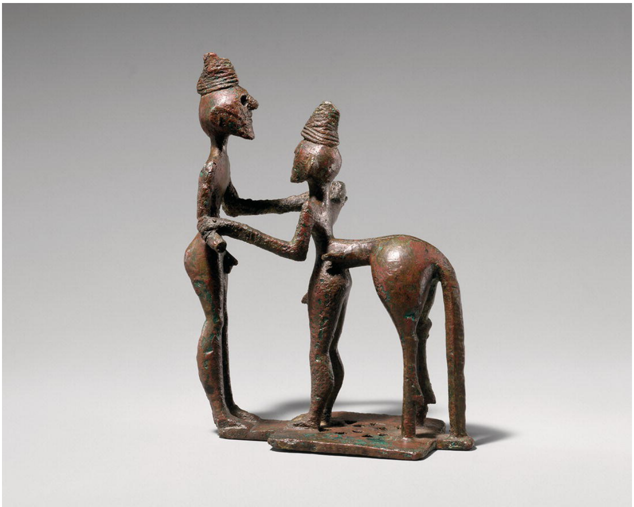

Figure 1.4 Geometric group of man and centaur. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.2072. Bronze. Circa 750–700. H. 4″ (0.111 m).

Source: © 2015. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/ Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

Orientalizing and the Daedalic Style

However much continuity can be traced through the Dark Age, then, something new was going on in the eighth century. Activities in sanctuaries were expanding; some, for example at Samos and Ephesus, were already being equipped with substantial, even monumental, temples. There, a powerful elite was beginning to mark itself off through its dedications and, at the same time, by conspicuous commemoration in cemeteries. The human figure and complex figural scenes were increasingly common in painting and sculpture; some of them appear to depict myth. Literacy reappeared, and Homeric poetry was taking its ultimate form. The events of the era have been variously characterized as a revolution or a renaissance, but evolution might be just as accurate a description. It is now thought that evolutionary processes take place at an uneven pace, with periods of gradual development "punctuated" by points of rapid change. The Late Geometric period is one of several such points in the history of Greek art. However one characterizes the process, a, indeed *the*, major factor at this time was the sudden increase in the range and frequency of encounters between Greeks and non-Greeks. Several of the defining characteristics of this emerging Greek culture were inspired from the east. Iron-working has already been mentioned; one can add writing, since the Greeks, who now wrote in an entirely different kind of script from that used in the Bronze Age, took their alphabet from the Phoenicians. Similarly, new techniques and motifs that begin to occur in the arts of the time are traceable to the coastal lands of the eastern Mediterranean.

Thus the convention has been to call the late eighth and seventh centuries the "Orientalizing" period, although the term has become unfashionable, since it assumes and implies a greater distinction between the Aegean and the Near East than was the case during Greek prehistory. It *is* clear that a primary catalyst in Greek cultural and artistic developments of this time was an entrepreneurial spirit, prompted largely by an increasing demand for metals, which caused Greeks from the mainland to explore their world more widely and, in many cases, establish permanent settlements far from their homeland. Greeks came into closer contact not only with the inhabitants of these lands, such as the Etruscans, but also with their primary competitors – Phoenician merchants who were similarly engaged in exploration and trade. "Orientalizing" or not, this process brought about the transformation from Geometric to Archaic culture.

The story begins already in the Geometric era and most conspicuously on Crete. Given its proximity to both North Africa and the Levant, the island had long had close connections with Egypt and the Near East, and now it became a stopping-off point for Levantine merchants on the way to their new settlements in western North Africa, Sicily, and Spain. Finds of metalwork, notably in the sacred cave on Mt Ida, attest the presence of Phoenician or North Syrian craftsmen working in a local version of Levantine style that freely mixed Near Eastern and Egyptian motifs. By the late eighth century these new subjects – animal friezes, rosettes, palmettes, bands of **guilloche** – are incorporated into the painted decorations used in various Greek ceramic workshops, first in Corinth (**Dorian** like Crete, and, like Phoenicia, heavily invested in the west) and soon spreading to Athens, the Cyclades, Laconia, Ionia, and elsewhere.

From workshops on Crete emerges a new form of bronze statuary, quite unlike the solid cast statuettes at Olympia and other sanctuaries. In a modest temple dedicated to Apollo at Dreros were found three small statues assembled by hammering and riveting sheet bronze into hollow metal images (Figure 1.5). The male figure is sizable, over two and half feet tall; his two female companions are half as big. If a group, they could be Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, more likely recipients of cult activity than votive figures. Evidence suggests that they were set up around 700 or earlier. While the technique of working sheet bronze, similar to that used in the manufacture of armor, may have been learned from eastern craftsmen, the style is Geometric, as seen in both the form and the analytical assembly of Apollo’s limbs. The facial features, however, are far more detailed than those of the small cast figurines: the brow, nose, cheeks, mouth and chin are rendered with an attention both to surface appearance and cranial structure. The **polos** worn by the goddesses is a Near Eastern borrowing, as is the belted tubular garment with its decorated central band (**paryphe**) and cape pulled forward over the shoulders. These figures clearly stand between the Geometric and Orientalizing styles, as befits their Cretan origin.

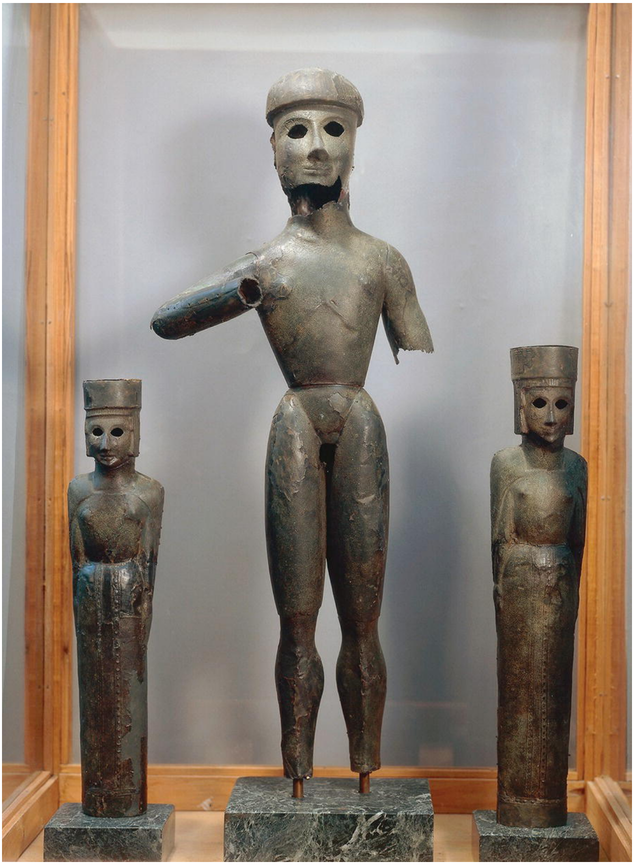

Figure 1.5 Statues from Temple to Apollo at Dreros, Crete. Heraklion, Archaeological Museum 2445-7. Bronze. Circa 700. H. (of male figure) 2′ 8″ (0.80 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti.

Signs of eastern influence can be seen in the late eighth century on the mainland also, not only in the pottery, but also in a group of ivory figurines from the Dipylon Cemetery in Athens. The best preserved of these (Figure 1.6) shares features with the Dreros goddesses, most notably the polos, modeling of the face, and wide-eyed stare. Yet her body, with its Geometric interest in distinguishing component parts, resembles not theirs, but that of Apollo, who, like the Dipylon figure, is nude. Unclothed female figures are unusual in early Greek art and all but non-existent later. It is a feature taken from the Near Eastern tradition, where Astarte

– the local equivalent of Aphrodite – was often shown in this manner. Moreover, the polos, an eastern feature, is here decorated with a carved key pattern (**meander**), a Greek motif. As in the case of the Cretan bronzes, an imported craft and style is used for the creation of a Greek monument.

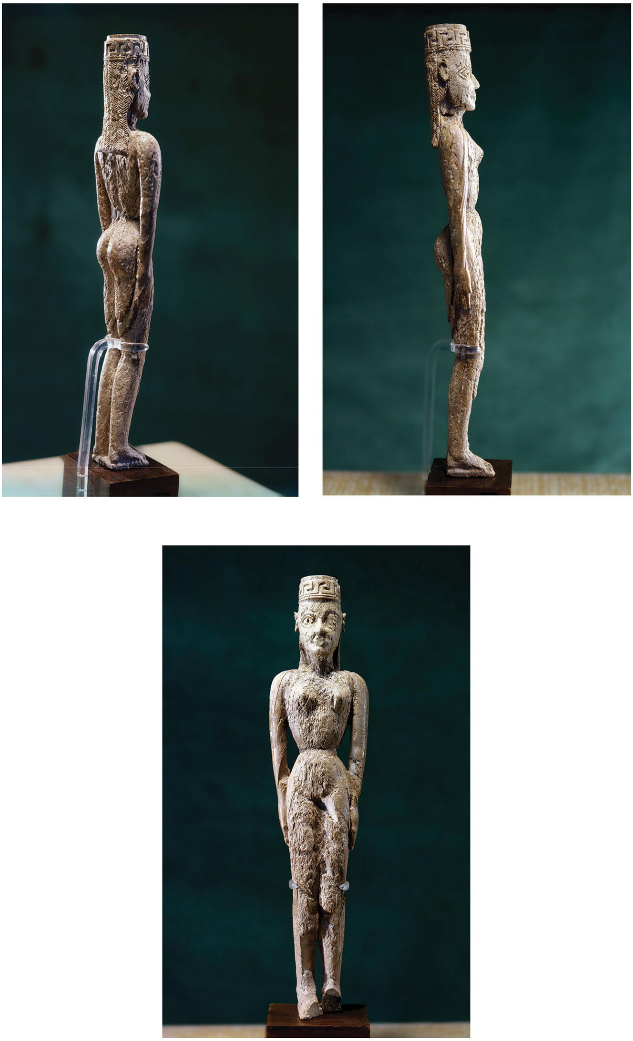

Figure 1.6 Figurine from Dipylon Cemetery, Cerameicus, Athens. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. 776. Ivory. Circa 720. H. 9″ (0.24 m).

Source: Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

Sculpture of the seventh century is characterized by the style termed **Daedalic** after the legendary figure Daedalus. This artist, whose name means "skilled craftsman," was associated in ancient writings with a variety of exploits and accomplishments. His famous commissions for Minos, such as the labyrinth, suggest a Bronze Age origin; his name occurs already in Homer as having worked at Knossos. He is also, as the reputed grandson of Athens' early king Erechtheus, connected with that city's heroic age. Yet other traditions place him later. Pausanias mentions him several times in conjunction with very early statuary; it was said that some of them could talk and walk (needing to be chained down to keep them in place), and their characteristic pose is compared to that of Egyptian work. This alleged similarity suggests the Archaic kouros type (see below), which originates at the end of the seventh century, and a number of artists who are mentioned as Daedalus' pupils can be placed in the early Archaic period. Thus Daedalus and Daedalic, both sculptor and style, are constructs, ancient and modern respectively, and both can be traced to Crete.

The first examples are numerous mold-made terracottas found especially in the eastern and central portions of the island. The production of wheel-made terracottas persisted there from Late Minoan through sub-Minoan and Dark Age forms, but these Daedalic figures are distinctively different (Figure 1.7). The most obvious defining feature is the hairstyle, with large triangular masses falling down at either side of the face. The horizontal divisions, like cascading waves of hair, suggest a derivation from the pharaonic headdress of Egypt. The tresses may also be divided vertically into braids, a pattern closer to that found on the Syro-Phoenician ivories from which the style obviously derives (Figure 1.8). Other characteristics of the type are a strongly frontal and two-dimensional aspect, the triangular face with large almond-shaped eyes and smiling mouth, and a flatness at the top of the head, sometimes reinforced by a polos.

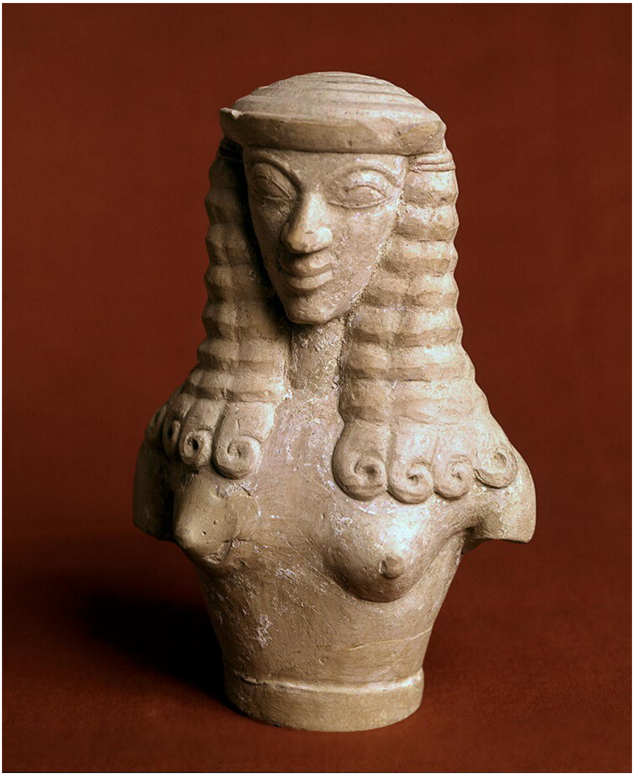

Figure 1.7 Votive figurine from Gortyna, Crete. Heraklion, Archaeological Museum. Terracotta. Circa 650. H. 9″ (0.175 m).

Source: Heraklion, Archaeological Museum.

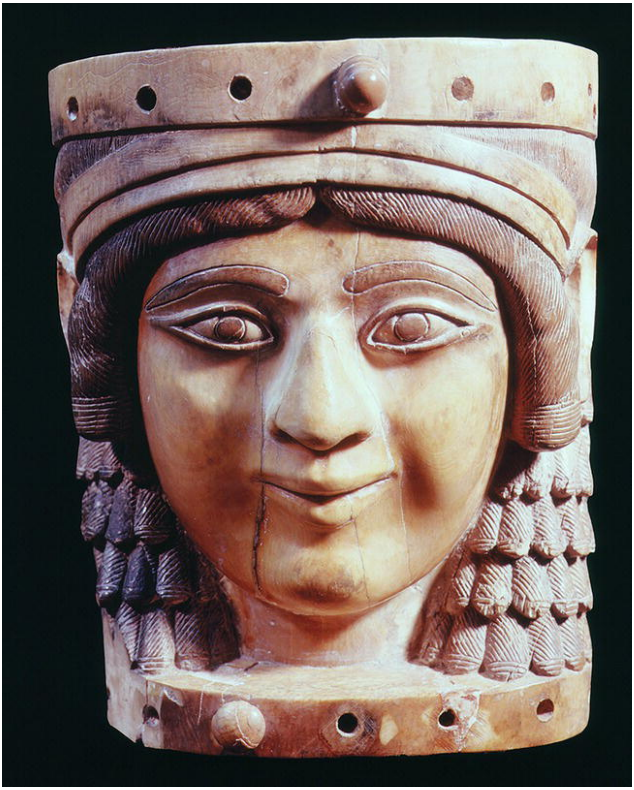

Figure 1.8 Syro-Phoenician plaque from Nimrud. Baghdad, National Museum of Iraq. Ivory. Circa 720. H. 6″ (0.16 m).

Source: © The Art Archive/Alamy.

This Daedalic style was inspired by the luxury crafts of the Near East – not only ivories, such as the one illustrated here, but also incised and relief metalwork in bronze, silver, and gold. The Greek craftsman, true to his geometric tradition, prefers simplified forms, sharply defining the individual parts of his subject matter, giving the entire structure its characteristic angularity. The style is quite long lived. Datable vases with applied Daedalic heads document that the style originates by the mid-seventh century and lasts into the sixth. The accepted chronology, which assumes a smoothing, over time, of these sharp transitions and a growing preference for more rounded forms, can be questioned on numerous grounds. Mold-made terracottas, which form the bulk of examples, by their method of manufacture incline toward repeated forms and resist regular, coherent, stylistic development, as does also the conservative formalism of the style itself. Yet the assumption that certain features – rounded faces, subtler carving of facial features, and pronounced smiles – are later is based on just such a development. That these same features characterize the Near Eastern ivories from which the style derives may indicate not a later date but rather a closer adherence to Oriental prototypes.

On Crete the Daedalic style occurs also in limestone sculpture, including standing and seated figures in the round as well as sculptured reliefs, some of which may have been used to adorn buildings. There is great range, and the sense is that of variation in style and quality rather than a clear formal development. The best-preserved relief, from Gortyna, shows a striding male figure, with its head turned to face, flanked by two frontal females wearing very high poloi; these are most likely Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, with the god being shown as more animated relative to the goddesses (Figure 1.9). The heads are clearly Daedalic, dated by style to the latest period, toward the end of the seventh century. Yet the goddesses here are nude - a Near Eastern trait they share with the much earlier Dipylon ivories, so features taken as late are equally likely to reflect closeness to Oriental practice.

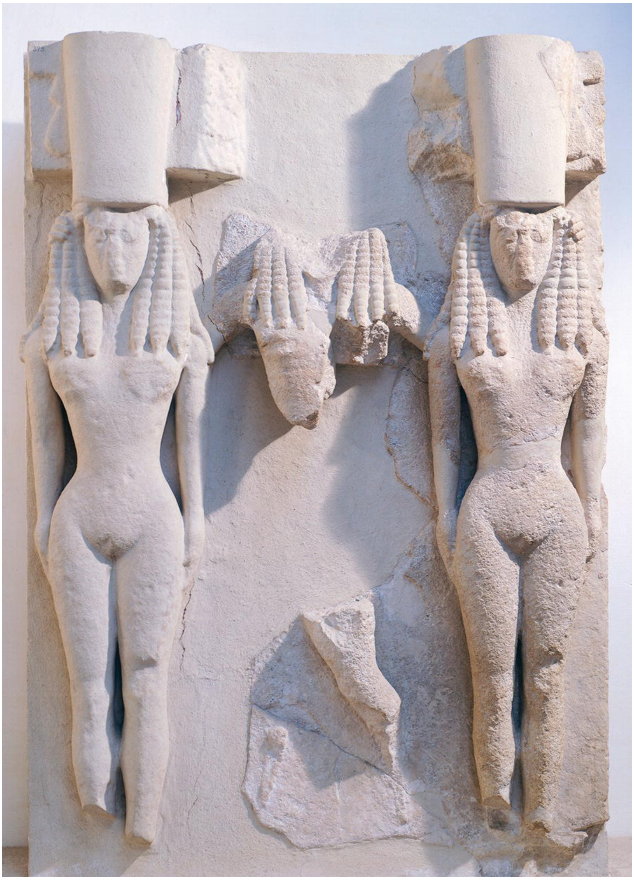

Figure 1.9 Relief from Gortyna, Crete, with divine triad. Heraklion, Archaeological Museum 379. Limestone. Ca. 650–600 H. 4′ 11″ (1.50 m.).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti.

Similar in style to the Gortyna relief are the sculptures associated with Temple A at Prinias, also on Crete. A rectangular element is carved in relief on its bottom surface and two adjacent sides; at each end of the top is placed a seated Daedalic female facing center (Figure 1.10). The relief on the bottom requires a visible surface, so the piece is plausibly restored as a lintel block with an open space above, framed by the seated figures. The view from underneath shows two standing figures similar in dress and style to the seated figures above. The garment of both seated and standing figures is the same as that of the two Dreros goddesses from a century earlier. A simple foldless tunic is belted at the waist; over this a cape is worn, pulled forward over the shoulders. Again they wear the polos, higher than those of the Dreros figures but much lower than those of the Gortyna relief. Their hair is arranged in vertical locks hanging over the shoulders, as at Gortyna. The vertical faces of the lintel show processions of animals, felines on one side, deer on the other; in each case three to each side converging at the center. In form and style these recall the friezes and figures on Orientalizing vases, especially Corinthian and **Ionian**, that date from the last quarter of the seventh century down to the middle of the sixth. A date for this work somewhat before 600 seems likely.

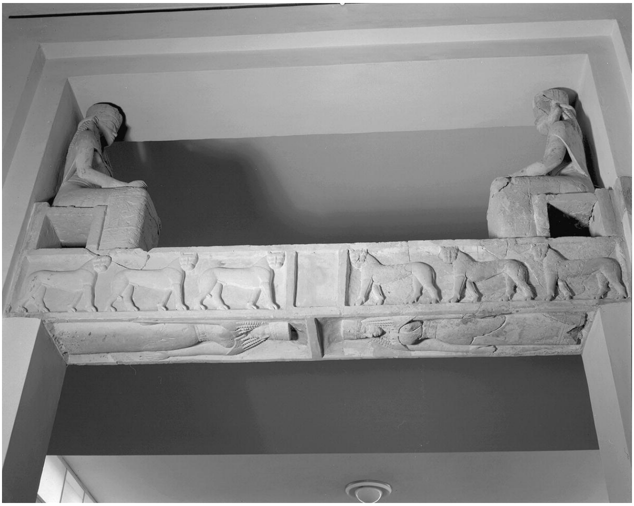

Figure 1.10 Prinias, Crete. Temple A. Lintel block. Heraklion, Archaeological Museum 231. Limestone. Circa 625–600. H. 2′ 8″ (0.82 m).

Source: Heraklion, Archaeological Museum.

If the Daedalic stone reliefs from the citadel at Mycenae pertain to the early temple, and if any of the Gortyna reliefs are architectural, then these Prinias sculptures would represent a third attempt at adorning a sacred building with sculptured stone reliefs and/or statuary. Since there is not yet an established tradition or pattern of architectural sculpture either on Crete or the mainland, sculptor/architects draw necessarily on the traditions of the minor arts. Each of these complexes reflects an entirely different means to achieve the visual monumentality that was increasingly an objective among Greek temple-builders. Within a generation these efforts would be codified into the architectural **orders**, which established fixed schemes for the plans, superstructures, and sculptured ornament of increasingly large and elaborate stone temples (cf. Chapter 4).

Freestanding statuary, both standing and seated, is also known. The best preserved of the former is a small statue nicknamed the "Lady of Auxerre" after the French town in which it was discovered in 1907, stored away in the municipal museum; its provenience is thus unknown, although its manufacture is assumed to be Cretan (Figure 1.11). The surface is unusually well preserved, revealing both painted and incised decoration; over her chest the tunic (chiton?) shows a polychrome scale pattern very similar to that seen on ripe Corinthian pottery of the late seventh century, and her skirt has geometric elements along its borders and on a broad *paryphe*. These patterns reflect elaborate decorations woven into a garment with divine and/or ritual associations. As on the Gortyna and Prinias figures, the horizontally sectioned vertical locks taper to a series of bound points over the breast; facial features are also similar to those of Cretan work, but equally close to works from the Peloponnese, another major source of Daedalic sculptures. Her hand gesture is genuinely oriental, found on Astarte plaques as well as on Cretan terracottas. Chronology is difficult, as we have noted, but a date somewhere in the final third of the seventh century is likely.

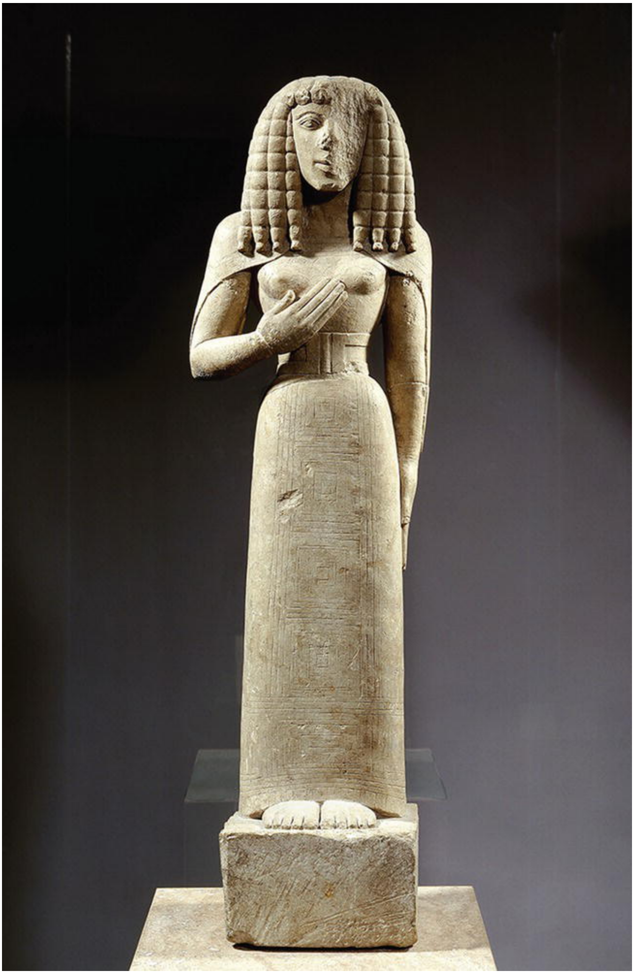

Figure 1.11 “Lady from Auxerre.” Paris, Louvre 3098. Limestone. Circa 630. H. 2′ 1″ (0.65 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence.

The Daedalic style is found also in ivory and wood, a figurine from Samos being an especially fine example of the latter (Figure 1.12). Its intricately carved garment recalls the equally ornate dress of the Auxerre statue, and the very high headdress resembles those of the goddesses on the Gortyna relief. Here the hair springs almost horizontally from under the polos before it falls to the shoulders, an arrangement seen also on examples from Crete, the mainland, and the islands; it is generally thought late but also occurs on some Astarte plaques. This statuette is of particular interest for the clue it might offer in reconstructing a much debated and now lost sculptural form – the large wooden statue. It is generally assumed that the temple built already in the eighth century at Samos housed a large **cult statue**. A block from what is assumed to have been its base retains a cutting for a tenon – a method for attaching a wooden statue, presumably in the simple, columnar form of these Daedalic figures. The issue of large wooden statuary is of some importance because of a once popular view that Greek monumental stone statuary arose indigenously from large-scale wooden predecessors, with little outside influence from either the Near East or Egypt.

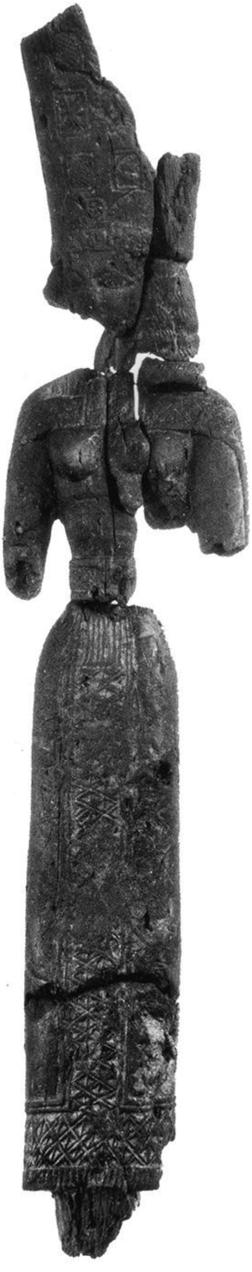

Figure 1.12 Statuette from Samian Heraeum. Samos, Archaeological Museum. H41. Wood. Circa 650–600. H. 11.4″ (0.29 m).

Source: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, DAI-ATH-1974/1278, photograph Gosta Hellner.

Although less often the focus of attention, male figures in the Daedalic style do occur, as seen on the triad relief from Gortyn. A bronze statuette in Boston, believed to be from Boeotia, is inscribed along his legs in two parallel arcs: “Manticlus dedicated me to the far shooter of the silver bow from his tithe; Apollo [grant] something good in return” (Figure 1.13). The anticipated, even expected, reciprocity is something that is at the very heart of Greek votive practice, but the wording in this early example is more explicit than is common later, leaving nothing to chance. The statuette has clear associations with both its Geometric traditions and an emerging Daedalic style. The separation of limbs, torso, and neck is clearly indicated, and there is a simple linear depiction of the muscles of the chest and abdomen; the shoulders and legs are rounded and muscular, unlike the Geometric bronzes. The belt will soon become a standard feature of Apollo representations. He raises his left fist, in which he surely held the bow that would secure the identification. The figure is frontal and foursquare, legs held together. The face is triangular, the eyes are large and almond shaped with inlaid iris/pupil, and the mouth bears the hint of a smile. The hair falls to the shoulders in a rough triangle bisected into two long locks; the exaggerated length of the neck makes him look far less Daedalic than his individual features suggest. Despite its apparently Geometric features, the statuette must belong well into the seventh century.

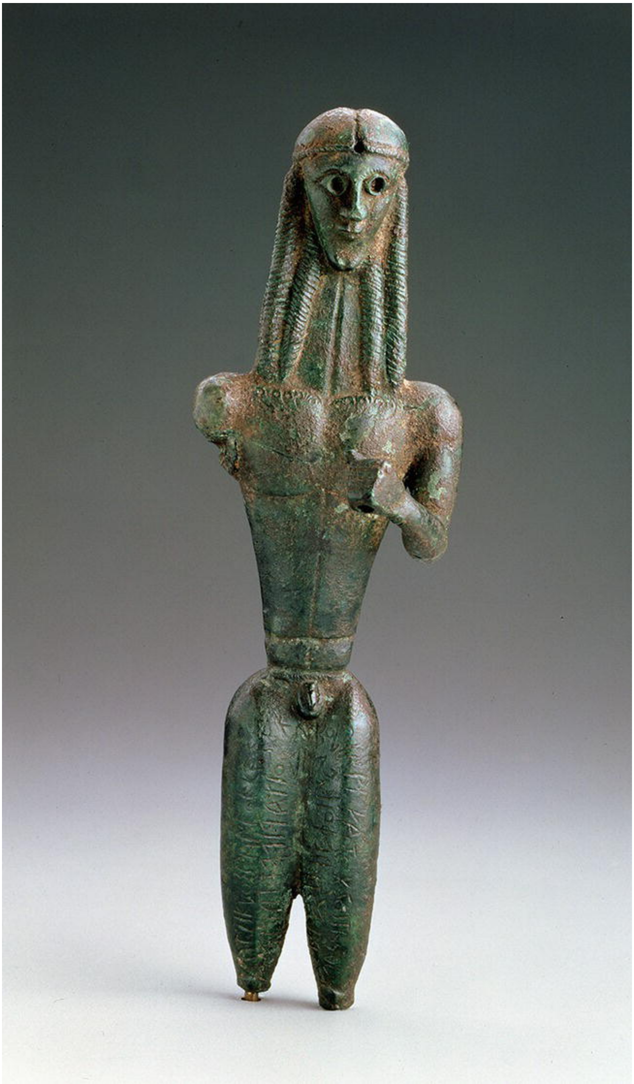

Figure 1.13 Male figure (Apollo?) dedicated to Apollo by Manticlus. Probably from Thebes. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 3.997. Bronze. Circa 675. H. 8″ (0.20 m).

Source: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA, USA/Francis Bartlett Donation/Bridgeman Images.

A bronze figure from Delphi is considerably later, from the end of the century (Figure 1.14). His head is purely Daedalic. His belt is clearly indicated. Attention to musculature is more developed than on Manticlus’ bronze; biceps and forearms, thighs, knees and calves are all clearly indicated; the transition from feature to feature is less abrupt. He strides forward tentatively with his left leg, suggesting again the vigor and animation appropriate to Apollo. His arms do not brandish an attribute, but rather are held down toward his hips, slightly forward, one more so than the other. They are not held tightly to his sides, so this is very close to, but not quite, the Egyptianizing scheme of the Archaic **kouros**, the first examples of which were carved around this time (Chapter 2). That is another step still, not simply in pose and gesture, but in material and scale as well.

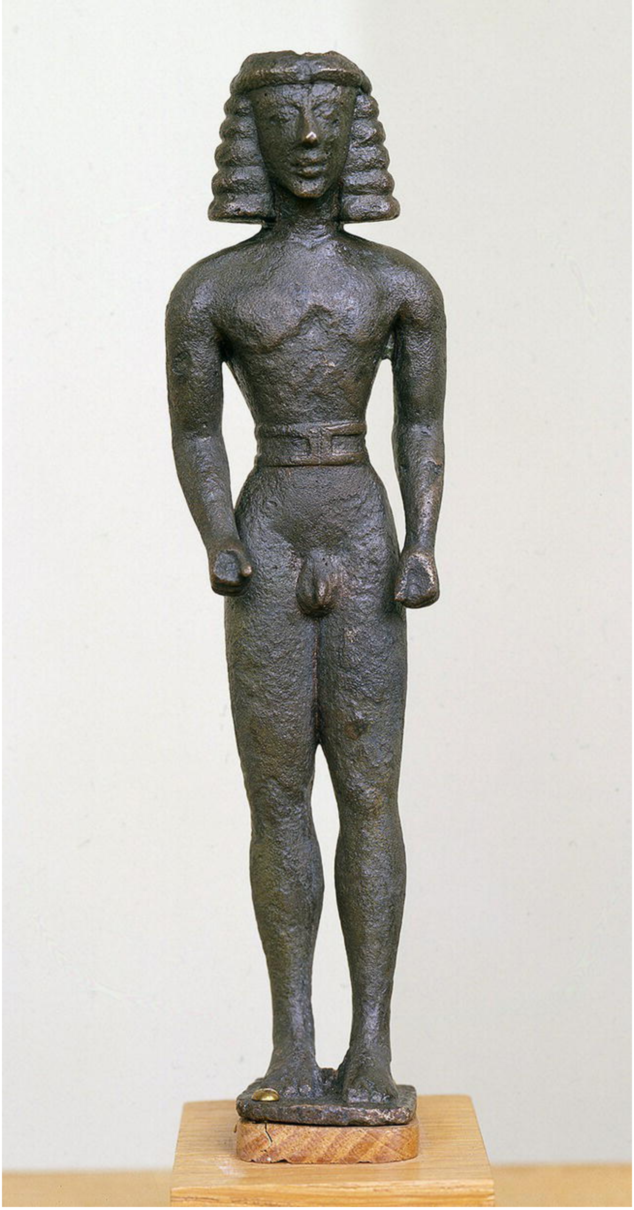

Figure 1.14 Statuette from Sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi. Delphi, Archaeological Museum 2527. Bronze. Circa 625–600. H. 7.8″ (0.197 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

This new material, as we will see, was marble, used for the Daedalic figures that support some *perirrhanteria* (water basins) erected at the entrances to sacred spaces (temples and *temenoi*) in the later seventh century (Figure 1.15). Typically, these consist of a broad basin supported by three or four female figures in a simplified version of Daedalic dress, on some of which, at least, detail is added in paint. Each figure, in turn, stands on the back of a recumbent feline, holding its tail in her right hand while holding in the left a leash connected to the beast's neck. The scheme recreates an arrangement known from Neo-Hittite supporting figures and which, in the Greek world, recalls the **potnia theron**, or mistress of the beasts. The perirrhanterion figures vary considerably in the degree to which they adhere to the standard Daedalic scheme. The garment is similar in form, although simplified; none have a clear indication of the Daedalic cape and two, from Isthmia and Samos, have faint traces of a painted diagonal mantle. These two also have a similar rendering of the masses of hair to either side of the face that lack, unless added in paint, either the horizontal or vertical divisions into tresses. The faces of the Isthmia figures do not look very Daedalic, a feature that has caused them to be placed stylistically as pre-Daedalic and thus very early (before mid-century), together with the similar Samian piece, on which the faces are not preserved.

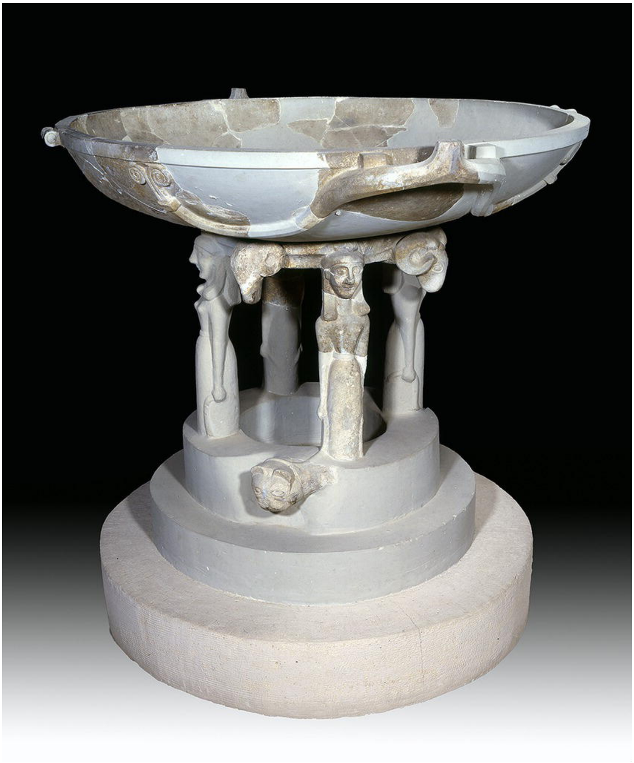

Figure 1.15 Perirrhanterion from Sanctuary of Poseidon, Isthmia. Isthmia, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 625–600. H. 4′ 2″ (1.26 m).

Source: Isthmia, Archaeological Museum.

There are nearly two dozen of these monuments known. The time of production is limited; aside from the anomalously early Isthmian and Samian examples, most date to the late seventh century, and very few (perhaps only one) to the sixth. Given the problems with the stylistic dating of Daedalic works, this gap is difficult to explain. As befits their function, most are found at major sanctuaries – Olympia, Samos, Isthmia, Delphi, and Ptoon, with other examples from Rhodes, Corinth, and Laconia, including the sanctuary to Apollo at Amyclae, near Sparta. Aside from a late work in Naxian marble from the Athenian Acropolis, they are generally carved from a bluish marble that has been established by scientific analysis as Laconian. Sparta was an important artistic center in the seventh century; it had a distinctive black-figure pottery style and was a major producer of Orientalizing ivories. It seems likely, therefore, that a sculptural workshop, using local stone, originated in Laconia at this time for the production of these lustral basins, which clearly derive from Orientalizing works.

Although its products travelled widely, the Laconian perirrhanterion industry was likely short lived, a generation or so at the end of the century. The gap in the current chronology seems an artifact of excessive reliance on an unlikely and outdated stylistic scheme. The variation in the degree to which these figures are truly (rather than "pre-") Daedalic derives less from date than from the manner in which such models were followed within a production that is, overall, fairly simplified, even crude, as might be expected from the earliest marble sculptures. Despite their relatively large scale (some over a meter tall), the formal affinities of these basins remain with the minor arts. They recall the ivory and ceramic chalices with **caryatids** that have been found especially in Orientalizing Etruria but also in Greece. If the first large-scale marble statues, which conventionally form the beginning of Greek sculpture, were related to these perirrhanteria, the larger works probably followed the smaller rather than, as many would have it, the other way around.

Yet this was a beginning with two millennia of past history: the formal dead ends of the Bronze Age, when many of the functions and materials of later sculpture did first appear; the Geometric revival, by which sculpture was reborn in its new, conceptual, and analytic form; and finally the transformation of this highly structured mode of representation that was prompted by the emulation of neighboring cultures to the east. Near Eastern sculptors had long since perfected the eternal artistic challenge of combining perceptual and conceptual approaches through both the blending and juxtaposition of highly abstract and stunningly lifelike treatments of organic forms. Greek artists, in competition with, and through emulation of, their Levantine counterparts, became newly concerned with surface appearance while losing none of their interest or expertise in the articulation of bodily structure.

Nor was the conceptual/perceptual polarity the only one in play. Toward the end of the seventh century was born Thales of Miletus, the earliest of Greek philosophers and conspicuously a product of this Orientalizing milieu. His mother was Phoenician, and he studied the observational sciences of Egypt and the Near East, which had a formative role in Greek philosophy analogous to Levantine and Egyptian sources of inspiration in the realm of Greek art. Thales is said to have stated that he was glad to have been born a human, not a beast, a man, not a woman, and a Greek, not a barbarian. His was a world of differences and, as a rational and analytical philosopher, he sought to elicit order (*cosmos*) from that world and define it in terms of polarities. As we will see below, those he lists – human/beast, male/female, Greek/non-Greek – will provide a core structure for subsequent Greek definitions of self and other, of identity and alterity. To these one might add distinctions of socioeconomic class, however termed (elite/middling is now popular), but Thales was famously disdainful of the pursuit of wealth, which was not, he once said, of interest to a philosopher, especially one who was, like Thales, already wealthy.

The late eighth and seventh centuries brought an era of rapid expansion and change for the Greeks, not only geographically but also intellectually. The resulting sensory overload challenged the rigid Geometric traditions in all aspects of life – economic, social, political, and religious as well as artistic. But Greek culture was nothing if not competitive, and these traditions would not be overwhelmed. The rational and analytical attitudes that emerged from the Dark Age permitted the Greeks to make sense of the protean world around them and to forge a distinct culture in the space between east and west. Thales, born in such a space, lived well into the sixth century and thus witnessed the emergence of this new Archaic Greek world, in which the definition of elemental units and the foregrounding of differences between them would provide the framework necessary both for defining order in the universe and for understanding mankind’s role within it.

2

The Search for Order: Sculptural Schemata and Regional Styles (circa 600–550)

Stylistic and iconographic change in seventh-century Greek art was both profound and sudden. Colonization and trade led not only to a momentous shift in the Greek economy, but also to a growing familiarity and fascination with previously foreign practices and forms. Beyond this confrontation between Greeks and "barbarians," the conflicting interests and values of agriculture and mercantilism resulted in other lines of fissure, not only among the separate Greek poleis but also within each polis itself. Ruptures in the social order often resulted in the rise of a **tyrant** – an individual whose substantial or total control over the administration of a polis depended on sufficient support from its populace, which offered it in order to protect itself from even greater oppression. Tyranny was a way that a polis could establish order, or order could establish itself over that polis.

As always, the evidence is greatest for Athens. Already in the seventh century steps were being taken to rein in the power of the ruling **archons**, drawn from the ranks of the elite, and there are ample other indicators of both civic disorder and public attempts to resolve it. Best known are the efforts of the lawgiver Solon (archon in 594–3), whose mediation between the empowered and the disenfranchised (as well as the dangers and difficulties of the task) are reflected for us in his own words. The key problems appear to have been debt, land distribution, and access to positions of influence within the community. His reforms addressed all these concerns and, although they provided no final solution, lasted until the major democratic changes that took place nearly a century later.

This search for order was not limited to the worlds of politics and economics. Solon was himself one of the **lyric poets**, who composed short songs on matters of individual experience. The more personal perspective of such poems contrasts with the existing tradition of extensive epics, not only in length but also in a more direct exploration of the same issue: the relationship between the individual and prevailing social norms. Lyric poets also established new metrical patterns suited to their new objectives, drawing out an inherent order from within language rather than imposing monolithic structures from without. Similarly, the Milesian philosophers sought to identify the component materials of the universe and the laws that governed its origin and existence. Educated and aristocratic, these early intellectuals, beginning with Thales, were well versed in the scientific and mathematical knowledge of their neighbors in Egypt and Babylon, but their reliance on logic and **dialectic** reason led to their later recognition as the founders of western thought. Thus Greek statesmen, poets, and thinkers, living in interesting times, clearly recognized the potential for chaos in the world, and they sought to identify, understand, and elicit, through just, virtuous, and rational thought, an order that they knew to exist already within the objects of their attention.

It was in this same milieu that the first large-scale marble sculptures were carved. In art, as in politics, literature, and philosophy, borrowings from the orient were transformed, through a similar quest for an order rooted in reason, contemplation, and the exploration of structure, into something characteristically Greek. Yet the characteristics themselves were far from uniform. Despite (or because of) increased interaction among the far-flung city-states of Greece, each sought its own particular path to an articulation of order within the general patterns shared by all. For example, while a similar style of vase painting (called black figure) arises across the Greek world, each polis applies the technique in its own distinctive way. Similarly, in architecture, plans and elevations of the increasingly common stone temples contain a fairly standard array of components, but variant styles – later described as the **Doric** and **Ionic orders** (see box to Chapter 4) – develop in the western and eastern Greek worlds, respectively. It was at this time too that the first large marble kouros (nude male) and kore (draped female) statues were carved, and, despite the fundamental consistency of the two basic schemata, it is through regional styles that these early examples have come to be defined. The story of Archaic sculpture begins with them.

The Birth of Marble Statuary in the Cyclades

In the mid-fifteenth century CE, on the island of Delos, Cyriacus of Ancona saw, and drew, the impressive remains of a colossal statue that originally stood over 30 feet high; for over half a millennium visitors to the island have marveled at the enormity of the work and the skill and effort that must have gone into quarrying, shaping, and erecting it. More impressive still, it was fashioned from marble that is not found on Delos itself but was brought from Naxos – the largest, most fertile, and, at the time of the statue’s creation, richest island of the Cycladic archipelago; a later inscription confirms that it was a Naxian dedication as well. Only portions are preserved, but they are enough to show that this was a true kouros – a male figure in a strictly frontal pose with left leg advanced, arms to the side, and long hair flowing to the shoulders (cf. Figure 2.2). The schema recalls one that had been used in Egypt for millennia (see box), but the kouros type is distinctly different from its Egyptian counterpart in being nude, carved fully from the block of stone, arms free from the body, and legs from one another, weight balanced carefully between them. The workshop that produced this wonder was surely Greek and must have been at the forefront of its craft.

Box Marble, the Monumental, and Egypt: Materials and Processes

While the earliest female figures emerge from a small-scale tradition of Orientalizing Daedalic work, the kouros looks very much like a standard scheme already used for standing Egyptian figures for well over two thousand years.

Herodotus noted the similarity, and Daedalus, who functions as a personification of early craftsmanship and innovation in sculpture, was said to have been influenced by Egyptian models. Greeks were present in Egypt as traders, mercenaries, and colonists by the mid-seventh century, so there was ample opportunity for interaction and influence.

There was no continuous tradition of working hard stones in Greece or for monumentality in sculpture, yet both were characteristic of Egypt from its beginning. The tools used by the first (and subsequent) Greek marble workers took their forms from those used by their Egyptian counterparts, although the latter could use copper and bronze to carve limestone, while the former needed iron tools to manipulate the harder and more crystalline marbles. The basic processes of production were also similar. A suitably sized and grained block of stone was identified; using the point, it was blocked out (in the quarry) to a rough shape approximating the statue’s final form, working the block inward from all sides simultaneously. The next stage of preliminary modeling was undertaken with claw chisels of various forms, more refined modeling was effected with flat chisels, and the traces of those tools were removed with a rasp. Abrasives, pigment, and polish were then employed to give the statue its final appearance; various surfaces were treated differently in order to contrast hair, skin, clothing, and jewelry and to give the final product an impressive, even dazzling, divine or heroic look. As modern reconstructions demonstrate, the gaudy **polychromy** of the end result can be jarring to modern viewers, whose romantic notions of Greek statuary, rooted in the purity of its present whiteness, are deeply at odds with its true original appearance. One must always keep this in mind when imagining the original psychological impact of marble statuary or the legibility of architectural sculpture.

Before carving, guidelines needed to be marked on all faces of the stone. The consistency of the kouros schema has suggested that the Greeks used something like the Egyptian canon of proportions, applied through grid patterns that helped artists produce similarly proportioned figures at different scales and resulted in the highly reiterative nature of Egyptian art. Grids preserved on Egyptian relief sculptures embody a scheme (the “second canon”) that was current at the time of the first Greek marble sculptures. If Greek sculptors, especially early on, could be proven to use the Egyptian scheme, then the argument for direct Egyptian influence becomes stronger. The use of proportional schemes by Archaic sculptors, moreover, would provide both a precedent for the later canons of the Classical era and a parallel for the geometric theorizing for which Greek philosophers and architects are famous.

Some studies maintain that Greek sculptors used the Egyptian canon, but only sporadically; kouroi that have proportions plausibly similar to those laid out by the Egyptian scheme occur without geographical or chronological pattern. Perhaps sculptors only periodically travelled to Egypt to visit with their counterparts, or any pattern books that circulated were used by some sculptors and not by others. More recent work has countered that Egyptian canons were rarely or never used in Greece. Comparisons of proportional schemes can show that kouroi from a Naxian tradition are more slender than those from the Parian tradition and that in the later sixth century there is greater similarity in proportions among the work of all sculptural centers. This is precisely what scholars have long since concluded on the basis of stylistic analysis. That the newly discovered Sacred Gate kouros is proportionally similar to the New York kouros only proves the point, since style suggests they are from the same workshop, if not the same hand.

While this may well have been the most conspicuous early statue in Naxian marble, it was not the first. A much smaller kouros was carved and dedicated on Delos by Euthycartides of Naxos at the beginning of the century. At least three other early kouroi in Naxian marble on Delos, large and belted like the colossus, were set up by the first quarter of the century. At least one of them has been dated in the late seventh century on the basis of its apparent

Daedalic style, as have two large kouroi in Naxian marble found on Thera. The latter are especially interesting because of that island's close connection with Egypt through its colony Cyrene, as well as its own Spartan origins and proximity to Crete, which reaffirm the alignment of the "Dorian Crescent" with the distribution of the Daedalic style. While Daedalic tastes may have emanated northward from Crete via Thera, these works are in Naxian stone, so it is to that Ionian island that the birth of marble sculpture is attributed. All are insufficiently preserved for detailed stylistic analysis, and in any case Daedalic features do not necessitate a date before the end of the seventh century. Moreover, some of the earliest marble statues are large, even colossal, and a lower date for the earliest kouroi corresponds to the earliest marble architecture, originating on Naxos itself circa 600–580. Both temple and kouros depend on the ability to quarry and shape large blocks of marble, and both express the aspirational monumentality of an increasingly wealthy and powerful polis; it should not be surprising if they begin around the same time. It is possible that the dedication of these large kouroi was prompted by the new cult statue of Apollo erected on Delos by the pupils of Daedalus, Tectaeus and Angelion, which may date to the beginning of the century. Known only from literary sources and late numismatic depictions, it was belted and likewise very large (some have guessed nearly 20 feet); fashioned of gold (and marble or maybe ivory?) over a wooden core, it held a bow in one hand and three Graces in the other, symbolizing, as the sources tell us, both divine beneficence and divine punishment.

If the first marble kouroi were carved by Naxians around 600, what then of the korai? While male figures in stone are rare before the first marble kouroi, already in the seventh century Daedalic limestone female figures are well represented on Crete and the Peloponnese, and similar, smaller figures in marble were used as support figures for perirrhanteria. However, what is believed to be the first large marble female statue is, like the early kouroi, Naxian and dedicated on Delos; it is over life-size for a female and nearly complete (Figure 2.1). The marble is badly weathered and details are elusive, but some forms can be detected. The garment owes much to Daedalic work; she wears the simple foldless dress fastened above the hips with a prominent belt. Traces in the marble at the joining of her arms and shoulders and between her elbows and back indicate that the garment covers the shoulders like a cape, as in the Auxerre statue and numerous other Cretan examples going back to Geometric times. Her head is flat at the top, her face has a distinctly triangular shape (exaggerated, perhaps, by weathering), and the hair falls in two long triangular masses at either side, articulated into vertical locks that narrow toward the bottom as if bound together at the tips. Along her left side is an inscription reading: “Nicandre, outstanding among women, daughter of Deinodicus the Naxian, sister Deinomenes, now(?) wife of Phraxus, dedicated me to the far-shooting archeress.” Dedications by women are far less common than those by men, so it is no surprise to see her pious act contextualized by emphasis on her identity as a member of a family group. Typologically and stylistically similar works, also in Naxian marble but very fragmentary, were found in the Heraeum at Samos.

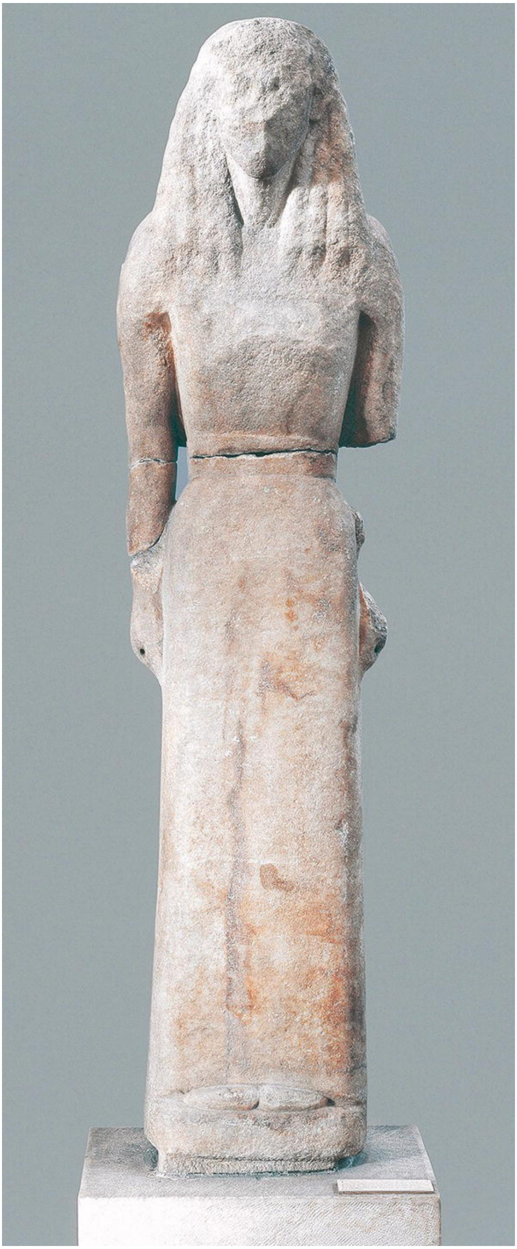

Figure 2.1 Kore dedicated by Nicandre from Delos. Athens, National Museum. Circa 625–600. Marble. H. 5′ 9″ (1.75 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library.

Dates vary considerably, since, like those of the kouroi, they are entirely based on the presumed stylistic sequencing for Daedalic sculpture. Nicandre was traditionally placed circa 650, although a date toward 625 has now gained adherents. For the reasons given already for the kouroi, it is possible that these statues belong even later, around or just before 600, thus contemporary with the marble perirrhanterion figures with which these statues share form and perhaps iconography. Nicandre herself has holes drilled through her hands, which are often interpreted as having held a bow and arrow, appropriate to Artemis. It has also been suggested that she held cords attached to lions, as seen on the Isthmian and Samian perirrhanteria, connecting her to the sanctuary environment and referencing Artemis' role as *potnia theron*.

A similar statue, fully two feet taller than Nicandre, unfinished but nearly intact, was recently (2000) found in a cemetery on Thera (again). It repeats quite closely the Daedalic form, garment type, and hair arrangement of Nicandre, while holding her hand to her breast like the Lady from Auxerre. Her surface is quite better preserved than Nicandre's, however, and the style is quite close to that of early Naxian kouroi; the marble and almost certainly the workmanship is of that island. As already noted for the early Theran kouroi, Daedalic form alone need not place the figure before the early sixth century; even Nicandre need not date much, if at all, before circa 600.

The Naxians are therefore credited with the invention of the Archaic marble kouros and kore, but by mid-century the sculptors of Paros supplanted them as the major producer of both sculpture and sculptural marble. If we look at two kouroi from that time – one Naxian, one Parian – we can recognize both the traditional distinctions between the two styles and features typical of island work generally. The former (Figure 2.2), from Melos but of Naxian marble and manufacture, is athletic, but slim. His broad shoulders are somewhat slumped; his torso tapers smoothly to a narrow waist, and then swells out to strong but not bulky thighs. The attention to anatomical detail is precise, but relatively restrained. The knee is convincingly portrayed with a sharply defined patella and prominent tendon between knee and shin. A simple narrow curve defines the ribcage, and the abdominal divisions are indicated, although subtly. The legs are delineated from the torso by simple continuous lines from hip to pubis, and there is no real articulation of the muscles above these lines. His eyes are smallish, flat almond shaped devices that are barely recessed from the level of the forehead. The thin lips of his gently smiling mouth are sharply defined. The spiral pattern of forehead curls is commonly found on Naxian work. The Parian kouros shows both similarities and differences (Figure 2.3). His physique is more powerful, his shoulders held back high and square; these kouroi are often described as “tense” or “alert.” His musculature is more massive and rounded, and a similar smooth fleshiness characterizes his facial features. The hairstyle resembles that of the Naxian kouros but differs in its more plastic sculptural effect. The two islands are not far apart, and both Parian and Naxian sculptors’ work, materials, and the artists themselves spread widely across the Aegean. It is likely that at times they worked side by side in a style that seems distinctly Cycladic when compared with mainland and East Greek work (as below).

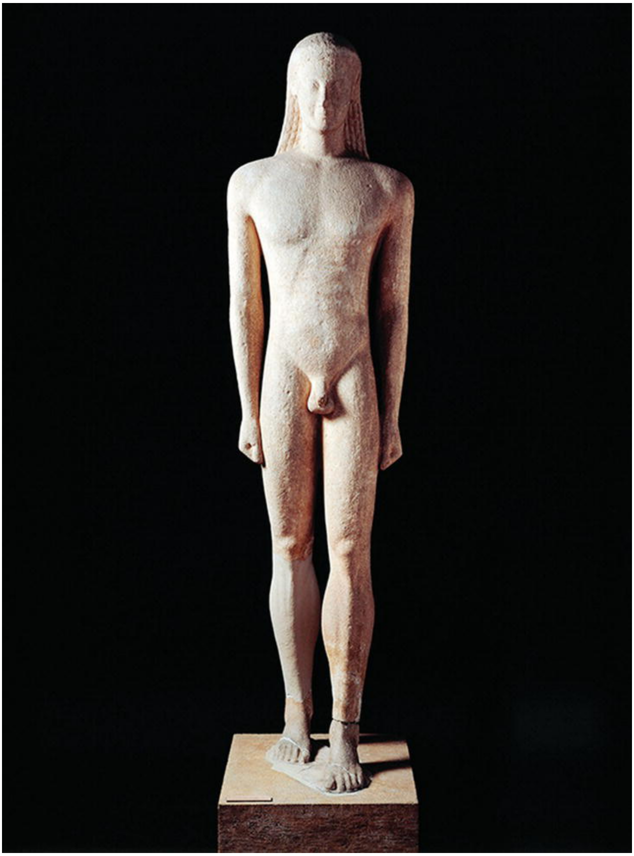

Figure 2.2 Kouros from Melos. Athens, National Museum 1558. Marble. Circa 550. H. 7′ (2.14 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah.

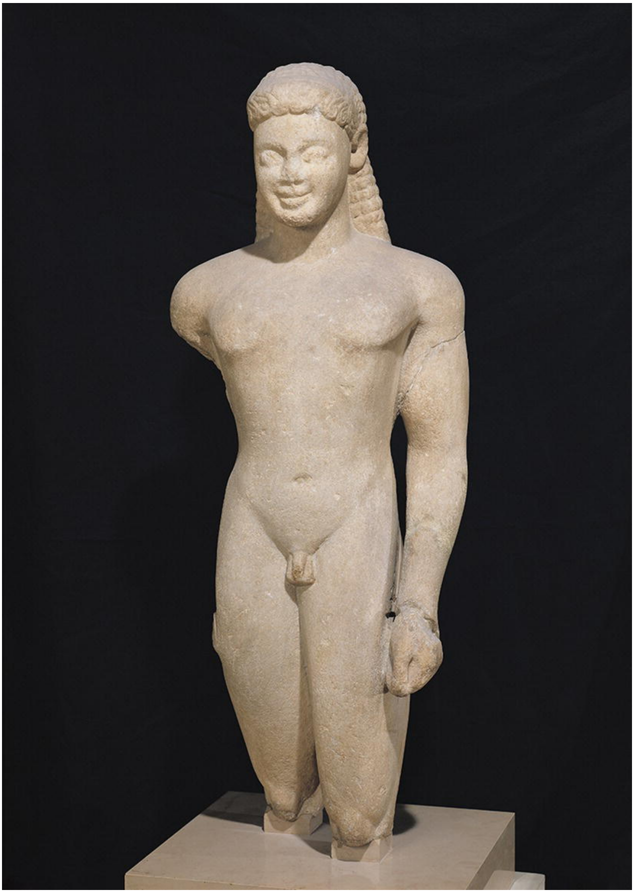

Figure 2.3 Kouros from Paros. Paris, Louvre MA 3101. Marble. Circa 550. H. 3′ 5″ (1.03 m).

Source: Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images.

Stylistic distinctions among island korai are more elusive still. Following Nicandre and the Thera kore chronologically is a group of a dozen or so figures (none, unfortunately, very well preserved and all headless) that resemble them in their simple forms and smooth garment but betray greater complexity both in the behavior of fabric and in the often subtle indication of the anatomical features that it covers. The group has been associated with different centers of production and thus given different names; in the interest of geographical neutrality, we can call them “Post-Daedalic.” As on Daedalic work, ornament is often rendered on the garment by incised patterns that include a prominent decorated paryphe and, in some cases, similar bands along the sleeves and the side of the skirt, and as a border at the neck. Folds, if indicated at all, are rendered by simple incised lines, except in the very latest examples. Most, but not all, hold the left hand to the breast, a reversal of the Daedalic gesture. The examples are widespread, not only across the Cyclades but from Attica to Chios to the Theran colony of Cyrene in North Africa. Most or all are of island marble and presumably manufacture, likely from Paros. Believed to begin around 580, the obvious formal derivation of these korai from statues such as Nicandre and the Thera kore is far more explicable if the latter are only a decade or two older.

Related to these korai is a winged female (likely Nike) in Parian marble found on Delos (Figure 2.4). It differs, of course, in its "running gorgon" pose, long used as an expressive if formalized indicator of rapid lateral movement in a basically frontal figure, although here the scheme is less angular and artificial than in earlier versions (cf. Figure 4.1). The upper body recalls the early group of island korai, as does the form of the three locks over each breast. The active pose allows the sculptor to develop the skirt drapery into sweeping flat parallel folds that outline and even model the legs, creating a calligraphic pattern that graphically describes the action. Unusually, her head is preserved; the sharply defined pattern of hair, centering on an ogival spiral pattern and continuing to either side in simple wavy lines, recalls the precision seen in Naxian hairstyles. The face, however, with its small diagonally set eyes, rounded cheeks and fleshy smiling mouth, seems Parian. By this time, around mid-century, the distinction between the two schools is becoming increasingly difficult to draw. The statue has often been associated with an inscribed column bearing the signature of Archermus of Chios, a sculptor also mentioned by Pliny, and thus it has served as evidence for a Chian school of Archaic sculpture. If so, it testifies to the increased blurring of regional differences that occurs toward mid-century.

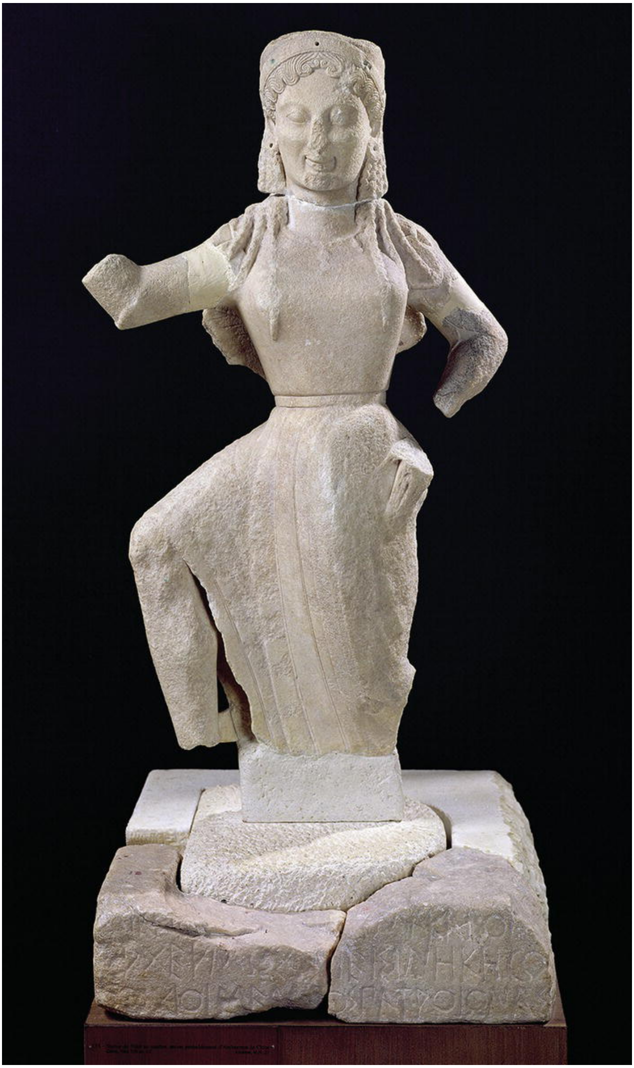

Figure 2.4 Nike from Delos. Athens, National Museum 21. Marble. Circa 550. H. 2′ 11″ (0.90 m).

Source: National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece/Bridgeman Images.

Also not a kore, but in this case surely Naxian, is the large marble sphinx dedicated at Delphi atop a nearly 30-foot-high column, the early Ionic capital of which resembles those from the temple of Dionysus at Iria on Naxos, around 580–570 (Figure 2.5). The monument’s base, which bears a later inscription granting them the right of **promanteia**, assures the connection with the Naxians, who also set up two similar sphinxes on Delos around this same time (circa 560). The carving is crisp and attentive to detail in the patterning of feathers on her wings and breast and in the sharply defined ribcage and swag pattern of hair sweeping across the forehead. The head is tall and oval; eyes are large and flat; the lower lid is short and horizontal while the upper lid has a longer, arching form, and a shallow incised line on the upper lid parallels its lower edge. These fine details of Naxian work will recur elsewhere and reveal much about movements of sculpture and sculptors across the Aegean.

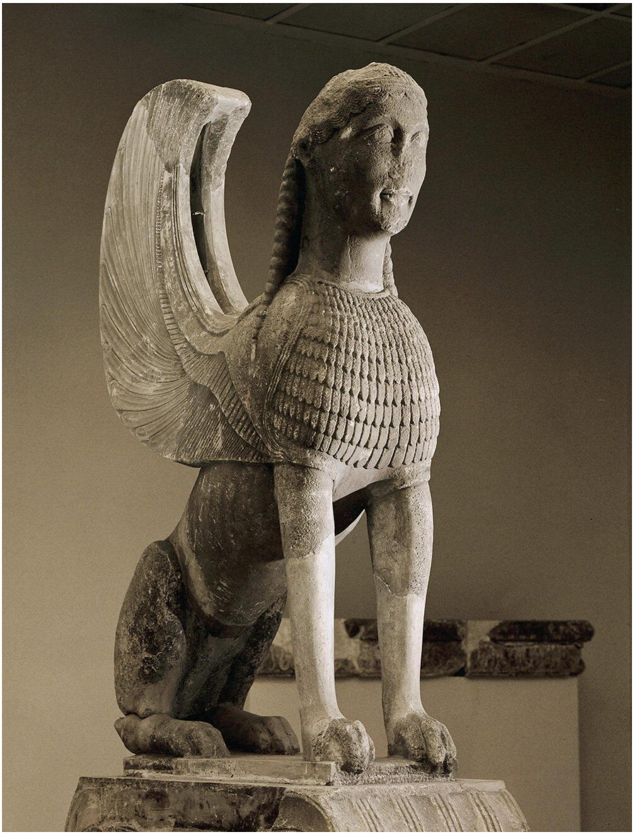

Figure 2.5 Naxian Sphinx from Sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi. Delphi Museum. Marble. Circa 560. H. 7′ 7″ (2.32 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

Samos and the East

The sanctuary of Hera on Samos was one of great antiquity and prestige. It was fitted out with monumental architecture quite early, and it was rich in exotic and valuable Near Eastern and orientalizing votives, including Daedalic sculpture in marble, wood, metal, and ivory. During the second quarter of the sixth century, the sanctuary came to be filled with statuary dedicated by wealthy aristocrats. At that time a man named Cheramyes set up three marble korai, each of which bears a complete dedicatory inscription. Two have long been known; the larger would have been some seven and a half feet when intact (Figure 2.6); the smaller, still well over life-size, differs in some details of drapery and in preserving the object clutched to its chest (a hare). In 1984 a third statue was found, very close in scale and scheme to the larger statue and bearing an identical dedicatory inscription: “Cheramyes dedicates (this) to Hera as an *agalma*.” A base block with appropriately sized cuttings for two round **plinths** suggests that the two similar statues were set up together either as a pair or as part of a larger dedication including the third statue and a fragmentary draped kouros with a similar dedicatory inscription.

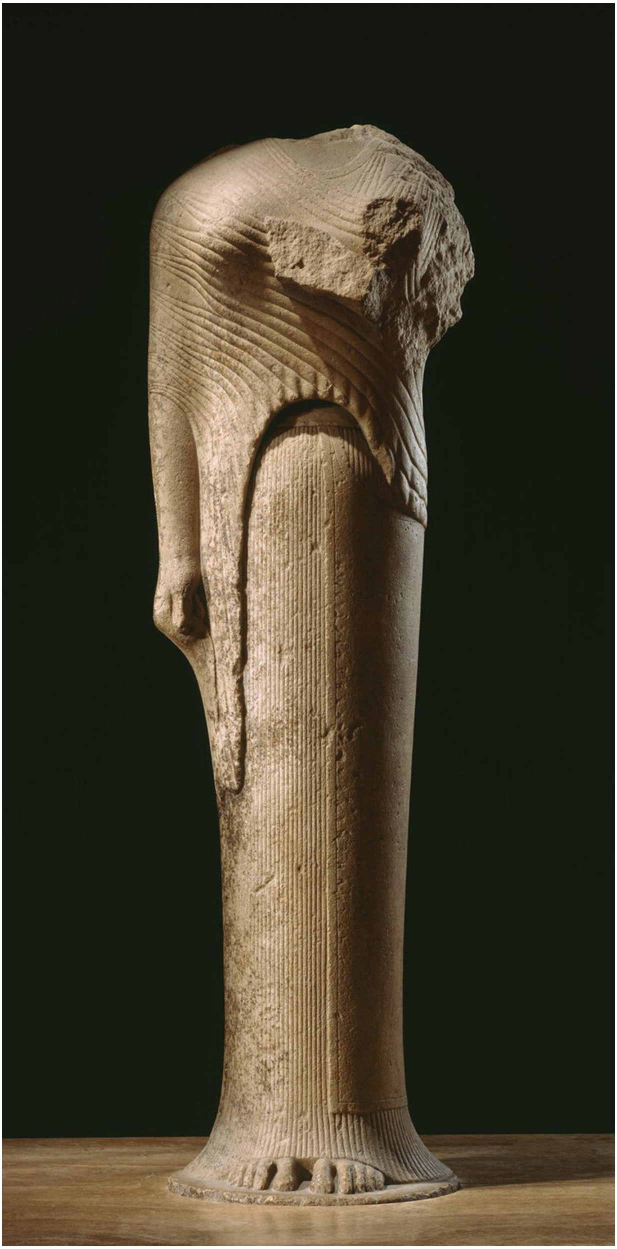

Figure 2.6 Cheramyes’ dedication from the Heraeum at Samos. Paris, Louvre 686. Marble. Circa 570–560. H. 6′ 4″ (1.92 m).

Source: akg-images/CDA/Guillemot.

The largest statue, often called the “Hera of Samos,” is taken as a representation of Hera herself, since it surely cannot represent its male dedicator. Its similarities to, and differences from, Cycladic work are immediately apparent. She wears not the foldless tunic but a thin **chiton** under a heavier, diagonally draped mantle (**himation**). While diagonally draped garments occasionally occur earlier, the rendering as we see it here is likely a Samian invention; instead of incised or painted lines on a flat surface, the folds are subtly rounded, giving the fabric greater substance. Carving is used not to indicate woven or embroidered patterns but rather to describe the behavior of the drapery itself. On the chiton parallel lines are organized in sets of three, originating from regularly spaced points along the shoulder and arm, indicating the buttoning of the garment along the sleeve. The approach is artificial but descriptive. No doubt similar folds in the material would, in reality, be created by the tension of the fastening, but the phenomenon is entirely formalized.

Even more striking is the way in which the sculptor uses pattern to describe both the flow of the drapery and the contrasting materials of the two garments. The mantle simultaneously drapes diagonally across her chest and reacts to the vertical force of gravity, and the folds of the mantle, more broadly spaced and strongly rounded than those of the chiton, function to mark out its heavier material. A third, veil-like, garment covers the head and the back. At the (proper) right, its edge falls down along the arm held tightly to the side and is grasped in that hand. At the left, it loops out from under the edge of the diagonal himation, tucks under the belt, and falls straight ending a few inches above the chiton hem. It is along this last vertical edge of the veil that the dedicatory inscription was cut on all three statues. The fabric itself is defined by a broad area of smooth surface articulated almost imperceptibly to suggest the ridged folds of the chiton underneath.

These statues illustrate the Archaic contribution to the three-dimensional carving of the draped female form – a development of linear patterning that eloquently describes and defines the fabric and draping of overlying garments as well as the form of the body underneath. This parallels the contemporary development of formal linear patterning that similarly describes the underlying physical structure of the nude male figure, or, for that matter, the facial features and hairstyles in statues of both genders. Not only do these Samian korai represent the first examples of a particular type of garment that becomes characteristic of Archaic korai generally, but also, and more importantly, they mark a highly significant stage in the development of the ways sculptors use drapery to attain their ends, the impact of which is seen throughout Greek sculpture.

None of this, however, occurs in a vacuum. Diagonal mantles were occasionally indicated earlier, and the columnar form of the chiton skirt flaring above the feet, sometimes incised with vertical folds, is seen in the early Cycladic korai. Despite the quest for, and partial realization of, regional schools of sculpture, it seems likely that all these statues from the first half of the century were created in an environment where sculptors from the mainland, the Cyclades, and east Greece were well aware of each other's work, and features characteristic of one area could make their way to another. Generally, the more curvilinear spherical and columnar forms, and the linear indication of drapery patterns, were found in areas (Chios, Samos, Ionia) in closer contact with the Near East, where those features had a long history in sculpture, but they were by no means *only* found there, and not long after the time of Cheramyes examples of the style will make their way to Athens.

A clearer idea of how Cheramyes' dedications may have functioned as a group is offered by the slightly later works of the sculptor Geneleos (Figure 2.7). On one long stone base were set six statues, four of which are substantially preserved. At left is a seated statue, inscribed with the name Phileia, which also bears the sculptor's signature. At right is the reclining male figure of […]arches, who dedicates the group (in the first person). In between are four round plinth cuttings that once bore standing statues, of which two korai are preserved, inscribed as well: Philippe and Ornithe. The other two statues were likely a third kore and a draped kouros. Here, as seldom elsewhere, the identity of the statues is made clear. The dedicator explicitly names himself, thus we can infer that the names inscribed on the other figures are labels, since the names occur alone rather than within a dedicatory formula. It may be a family group – father, mother, daughters, and son, making explicit the significance of identity and status as defined by one's role within a group, recalling also the inscription on Nicandre. Another interpretation, that these are the priestly personnel of the sanctuary, although less likely, would function similarly. What light does this shed on Cheramyes' dedications? These have been seen as multiple dedications to Hera, either expressing reinforced piety through duplication, representing the goddess in her various aspects, or as images of different goddesses (that with the hare Aphrodite?) deemed worthy *agalmata* for Hera. With the certainty of a shared base and the likelihood of an extended group including a male figure, that group looks increasingly like Geneleos'. The pattern of inscriptions is different, to be sure, but Cheramyes may have set them up together, each bearing its own dedicatory inscription, leaving their identities implicit; perhaps the smallest kore, distinguished in its dedication as a *perikalles* (very beautiful) agalma, was a more youthful figure. The dedicator himself may have been present only in name.

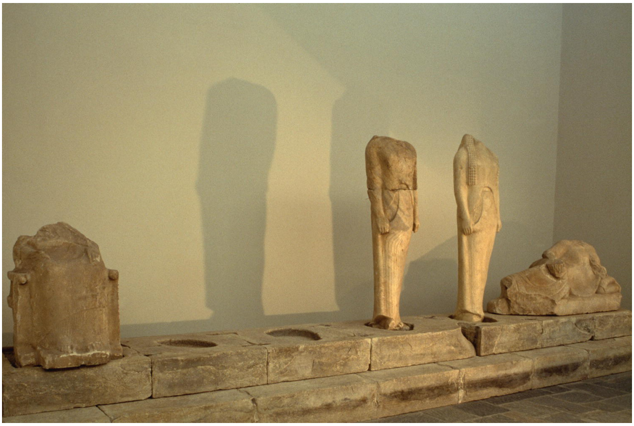

Figure 2.7 Geneleos Group. Samos Museum. Marble. Circa 560–550. L. of base 19′ 11″ (6.08 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

As for style, the similarities are patent, the differences not without interest. Only Ornithe has long locks down her chest; found already on Daedalic works, these also characterize most of the Cycladic korai group and are typical on later korai. However they are lacking on all three of Cheramyes' korai and many other works of the time from Samos and Ionia. It is not at all clear if the fashion had meaning or simply reflects artistic variation.

Otherwise, Philippe and Ornithe are very similar. Both wear the chiton without the diagonal mantle, which allows Genelaos to avoid the diagrammatic problem of coordinating the diagonal and the vertical in the draping of the mantle. They also retain the bilateral symmetry of earlier korai, which the sculptor now breaks up in the figures' lower half by introducing a feature that will soon be widely adopted. While all three of Cheramyes' korai grasp drapery in the right hand, none alter its fall in doing so. Both Philippe and Ornithe pull their skirt drapery sharply to their right, which animates the pattern of lines atop the legs, highlighted by the pattern of roughly parallel curved lines that transition from the tightly bunched drapery in the hand to the smooth expanse of marble outside the opposite leg. More significantly, this gesture also reflects, and thus draws attention to, the advanced position of the right foot, which of course explains the necessity of the gesture itself. This is a further step, so to speak, in the sculptor's efforts to express through drapery pattern both the garments worn and the form and position of the body underneath, by now implying potential motion. This may have been inspired by the striding contemporary kouroi, and the pose will become typical of korai, too, in the second half of the century.

A similar experimental application of inherited linear schemata is revealed in the seated and reclining figures. Phileia wears a long diagonally draped mantle over a thin chiton, which appears in the preserved section mostly above her feet. The two garments are distinguished by fold patterns – thin and closely packed for the chiton, a few long sweeping lines for the upper edge of the garment. She looks much like the seated statues found in significant numbers at Miletus and the neighboring Apollo sanctuary at Didyma. Similarly, the reclining male wears a buttoned **chitoniskos** that employs the same descriptive patterns as the buttoned garments of the korai, although the lines here flow down, outlining his rounded pectorals (some have seen a female here) and paunchy midsection; a similar liquid quality appears in his heavy wrapped mantle, which is bunched at his left elbow and pours in a few flat layers over his hips and legs. This statue expresses a very different conception of aristocratic **aretē** (aristocratic masculine virtue) than that which prevails in the more western parts of the Greek world, one that seems to equate opulence and corpulence, in an eastern fashion.

By contrast, Samian kouroi preserve the powerful build and vigorous pose of their island and mainland counterparts. They could also be very large; an especially monumental example, perhaps one of several originally, was found in the 1980s at one end of the sanctuary's sacred road (Figure 2.8). An inscription, cut in eastern fashion on the figure itself, names its dedicator, Ischys. Much of the body and face is preserved; it originally towered over 15 feet above its base. Like the korai, Samian kouroi show affinities to Cycladic styles. The athletic physique is characterized by the rendering of musculature, and there is a precise definition of certain elements such as hairstyle, facial features, knees, and fingers. As on the Naxian sphinx, the lips of Ischys' statue are thin and horizontal, and there is a similar incised line paralleling the upper lid, although the eyes themselves are much narrower, almost cat-like. The hair, as is typical of eastern work, is combed back in beaded tresses directly from the forehead, emphasizing the spherical cranium. Cheeks are rounded and prominent, the face almost chubby. While less well-fed than the dedicator of Genelaos' group, Ischys' kouros is still somewhat soft. There is little definition of skeletal structure, less even than on Cycladic work. Linear definition of anatomy is largely avoided. As is the case with the korai, rounded, not rectilinear, forms prevail, as one would expect from the Asiatic connections. Indeed, the Samian works illustrate an essentially pan-Ionian style, represented also by sculptures from Ephesus and Miletus on the Anatolian mainland, although each has its own local features. The architectural sculpture from these two sites, better known than that from Samos, will be considered in its own context (Chapter 4).

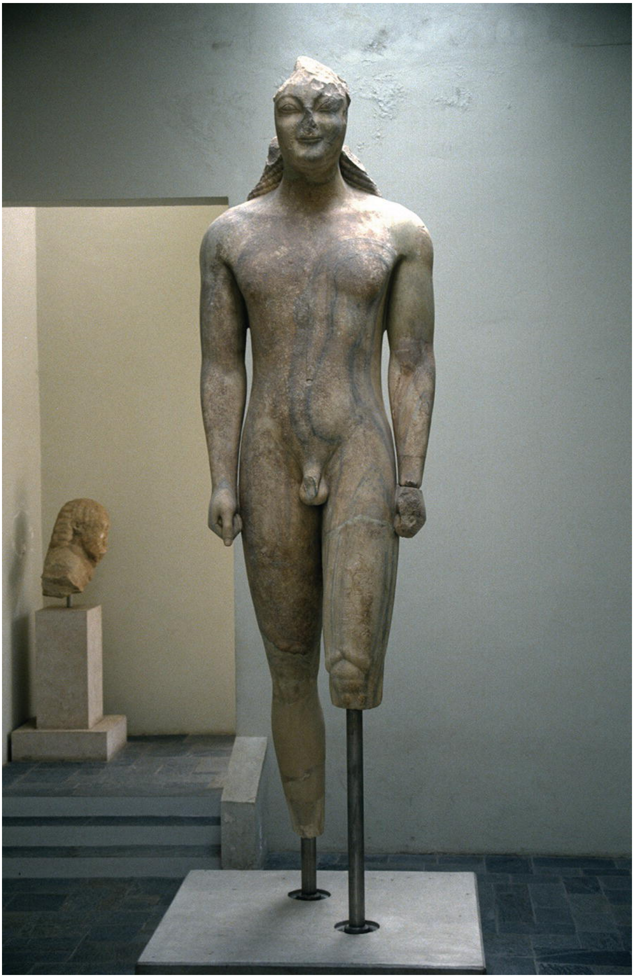

Figure 2.8 Colossal kouros from Heraeum, Samos. Samos Museum. Marble. Circa 570. H. 15′ 7″ (4.75 m).

Source: akg/Bildarchiv Steffens.

Athens and Attica

While marble sculpture originated in the Cyclades, its usage for both votive and funerary purposes was adopted almost at once on the mainland. Attic sculpture is carved from imported island marble throughout the sixth century, and the contributions of

Cycladic schools are both patent and persistent. Yet the sheer number of well-preserved marble korai and kouroi from mainland Greece, primarily Athens and Attica (and also the Apollo sanctuary at Mt Ptoon in Boeotia), far outstrips the finds from elsewhere. While this state of preservation may be misleading, there is no doubt that the mainland was from the very beginning an important market for these sculptures, and the works found there display distinctive styles from the outset. If island sculptors travelled to Attica with the partially worked blocks of their native stone, they finished them in a style consistent with local taste. Once there, they are apt to have founded local workshops, travelling back and forth, and supervising preliminary work in the quarry. Early kouroi in Attica, which are far better represented than are korai, form two clearly definable groups – funerary kouroi from both the city and **mesogeia** (countryside) and votive kouroi set up at the sanctuary of Poseidon on Cape Sounion, which, as the southeastern promontory of the Attic peninsula, quite literally points toward the Cycladic islands.

A kouros in New York was, for some time after its acquisition in 1931, considered of questionable authenticity (Figure 2.9). The only comparable pieces known at the time were a head found by the Dipylon gate (in the **Cerameicus** of Athens) and the Sounion kouroi; that the New York piece combines features from both indicated the possibility of a forgery. Discovery in the Athenian Agora of kouros fragments that parallel some of the peculiarities of the New York piece increased the likelihood that the latter is ancient. A kouros discovered near the Sacred Gate (also in the Cerameicus) in 2002 shares features with both the Dipylon head and the New York kouros and seems to have silenced any remaining doubt. Altogether one can now document five or six stylistically related funerary works in this group.

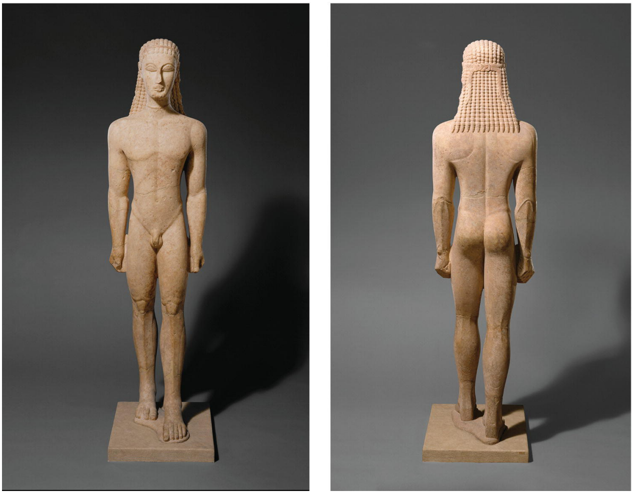

Figure 2.9 Kouros from Attica. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 32.11.1. Marble. Circa 600–580. H. 6′ (1.84 m).

Source: © 2015. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/ Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

The New York kouros is essentially complete; carved from island marble, it is over life-size, as is typical of early kouroi. What most separates this statue from island works is the careful delineation of the parts of the body, both in the raised line that marks the joining of legs to the torso and in the articulation of muscle groups and skeletal features, especially at the knee, ribcage, pectoral, clavicle, scapula, and backbone. Much of this patterning is highly linear. The eyes are very large and lie flat on the surface of the head. The hair is rendered with a simple pattern of convexly beaded tresses without spiral forehead locks and is held in place by a simple flat **fillet** (ribbon) tied at the back in a square knot. The Sacred Gate kouros and Dipylon head, both of which are even larger in scale than the New York statue, bear strong similarities to it. Both have convexly beaded hair, but the beads in both cases are noticeably larger and fewer, those of the Sacred Gate kouros show a more complex arrangement above the forehead, and the hair of the Dipylon head is, in addition to its fillet, bound together in back just below the bottom of his neck. Their eyes are also large, flat, and sharply delineated; those of the Sacred Gate kouros are especially big. The eyelids of the Dipylon head are symmetrical about their horizontal axis, while those of the New York and Sacred Gate figures more closely approximate the Naxian arrangement, with the longer, arching upper lid. The ears are a highly formalized volute pattern, not unlike an Ionic capital; it is debated whether the disc-shaped “lobe” is in fact an earring. The head shapes are similar, though the Dipylon and Sacred Gate heads are more oval, those of the New York kouros somewhat more tapering.

The votive kouroi from Sounion are colossal; the one mostly extant figure (Figure 2.10) was originally half again larger than any of the funerary group and displays a comparable, although far from identical, approach to anatomy. The ears are similar, as are the eyes, which are, however, even more “Naxian” looking. The mouth is smaller and the face tapers even more than does that of the New York kouros. The hair is swept back in beaded tresses, but the beads are concave, not convex, and the binding is more complex. It can be read as a split fillet holding spiral forehead curls in place or as a metal headband with spiral decoration. In any case the forehead curls point to the Cyclades, as does a peculiarity of the back. Here we see a linear outline of anatomy even more detailed than that on the New York kouros and similar to that on the back of the Delian colossus, which also shows, in a softer form, the two vertical channels to either side of the incised line of the backbone.

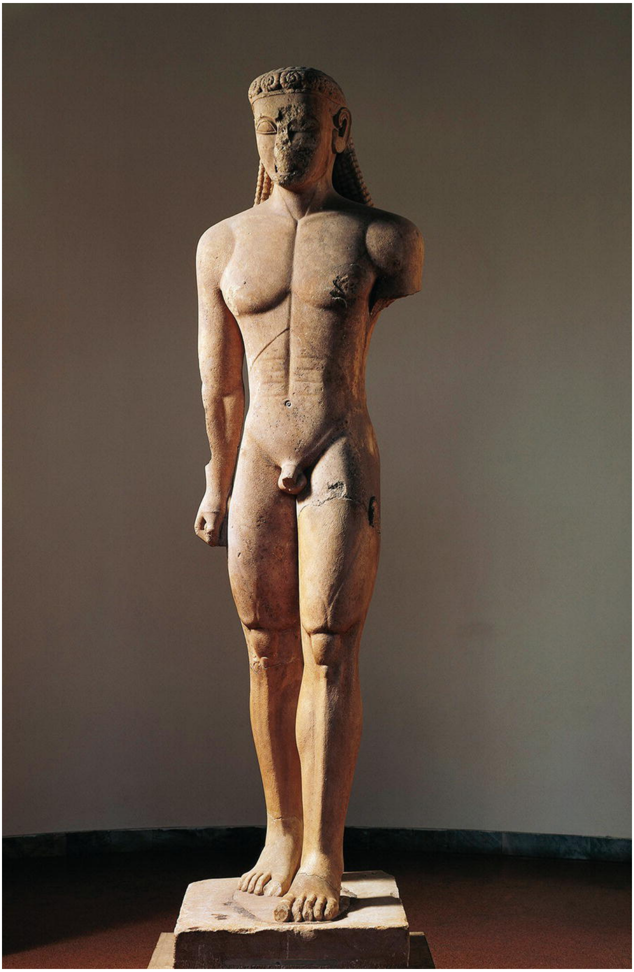

Figure 2.10 Kouros from Sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion. Athens, National Museum 2720. Marble. Circa 590–580. H. (restored) 10′ (3.05 m).

Source: © 2015. De Agostini Picture Library/Scala, Florence.

The only assuredly votive early kouroi found in Attica, the Sounion statues' stylistic traits suggest the establishment in Athens of an island sculptural workshop early in the sixth century. They may even have been dedicated by Cycladic islanders, whose debt and devotion to Poseidon are obvious if they were sailing around the treacherous Aegean waters in boats laden with massive blocks of marble. Whether they were Naxian or Parian is currently disputed, since early kouroi assuredly from either island are less well preserved than their Attic counterparts, and the distinction between them is thus not clear. Recently discovered examples from Despotiko on Antiparos should be Parian in origin, but one at least has eyes like those of the Naxian sphinx. The differences between the Athens and Sounion groups have been attributed to different origins (Naxian versus Parian; Cycladic versus Attic), hands, and dates. These works were probably typical of the earliest kouroi in both Attica and the Cyclades. Formalized like the Daedalic sculptures from which they derive, from this point forth the Attic workshops develop, or retain, an interest in expressing anatomy with abstract detail while on the islands there occurs a movement toward softer, less linear forms, perhaps owing to a closer connection with Ionia.

A funerary kouros from Volomandra (Figure 2.11) marks the next stage in the development (circa 560). It is closely related to island work; much of its facial structure resembles that of Naxian sculpture, while it also seems to have the “alert” shoulders-back carriage associated with Parian kouroi. The pattern of “flame” locks across the forehead, not unlike a lion’s mane, seems local; some slightly later Attic kouroi sometimes combine these with a version of the Cycladic spirals – an improbable creation that may show a headdress. The eye here is more like a sphere than the flat mandorla of island kouroi, and there is the beginning of a tear duct. Most striking, however, is the emphasis on the musculature of the abdomen, a feature all but ignored on early island kouroi and much more summarily rendered on Attic predecessors. This evolving understanding of the sculptor's craft is similarly reflected in the bold treatment of drapery volumes seen on contemporary korai.

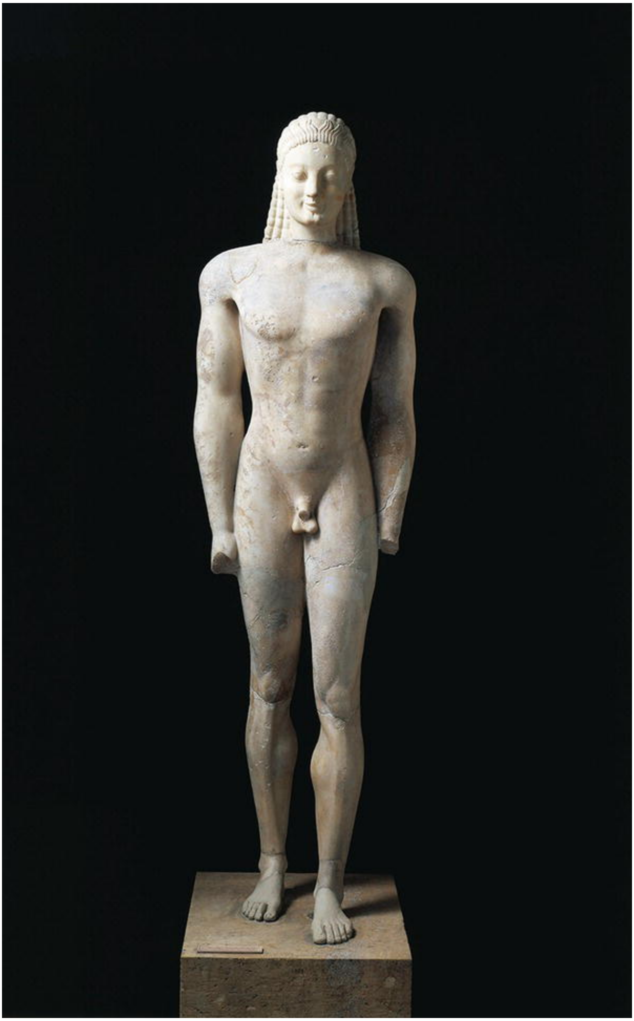

Figure 2.11 Kouros from Volomandra (Attica). Athens, National Museum 1906. Marble. Circa 560. H. 5′ 10″ (1.79 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah.

There is even less evidence for early korai from Attica than for the islands and East Greece; the very few Attic examples of the “Post-Daedalic” korai are likely Parian work or a local imitation. The “Berlin Kore” from Keratea provides our best conception of early Attic korai (Figure 2.12). It shares with some early Attic kouroi its large flat eyes and a peculiar hair arrangement in back with its symmetrical pattern of diverging diagonal lines. Her facial structure is not like that of any other Archaic statue. The lips are thick and sharply faceted; their carving seems early, as does that of the eyes. Yet the distinct smile and smoothly modeled, prominent cheekbones and chin resemble developed island work. She wears a polos with incised meander that may, like the pomegranate she holds and those on her necklace, identify her as Persephone herself. However, one of the earliest of the Acropolis korai also holds this fruit and is certainly votive. The upper part of her sleeved tunic bears incised decoration, like other early korai, but her skirt is distinctly different. It has a central paryphe with painted decoration and flute-like vertical folds, but instead of the flat linear pattern of shallow incised lines, the pleats here are broad and project boldly from the stone, seeming even to overlap one another. The effect is reinforced by the mantle worn stole-like around her shoulders, which is not only similarly pleated, but also terminates at each end in zig-zag patterns that describe the cloth folding back against itself. Such arrangements are found in vase painting only rather late within the second quarter of the sixth century, so despite the apparently early features a date around 560 seems fitting. What seems early on the Berlin Kore may reflect the emerging Attic taste for bold expressions of physical structure.

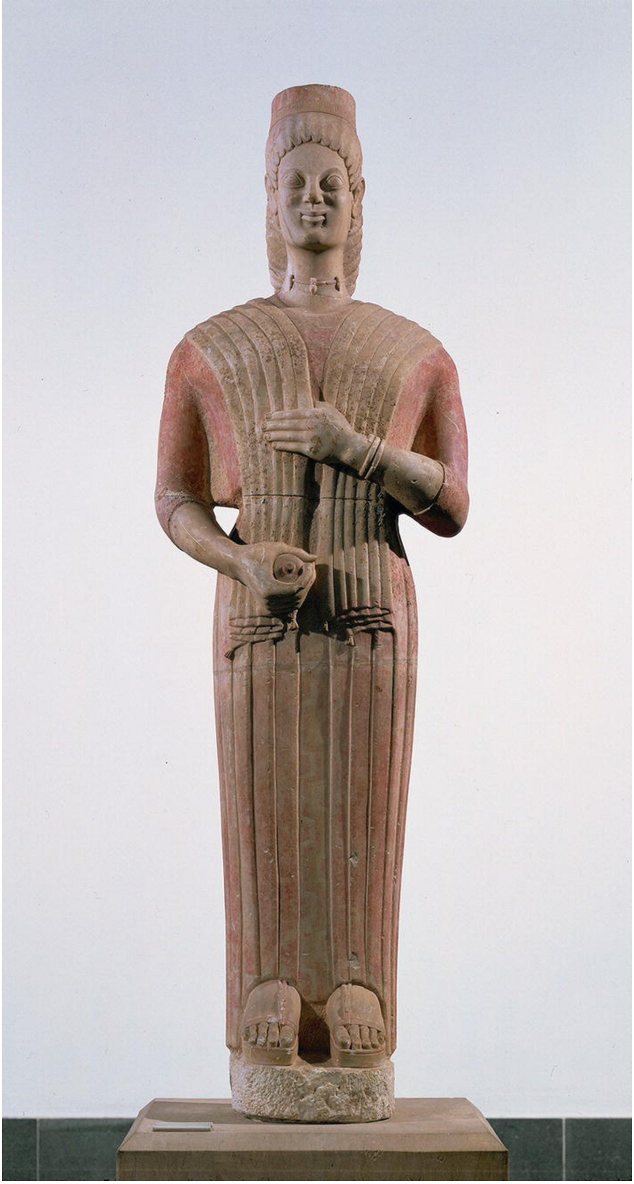

Figure 2.12 Kore from Attica. Berlin Museum inv. no. 1800. Marble. Circa 570–560. H. 6′ 4″ (1.93 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

Boeotia and the Peloponnese

The only other mainland center to have preserved enough sculpture to represent a local school is Boeotia, specifically the Apollo sanctuary on Mt Ptoon, where over 100 kouroi are documented. Some are in island marble and may be imports; many are in a local bluish marble and bear features of both island and Attic sculpture, showing a similar development from abstract, linear forms to smoother renderings. A kouros from Orchomenos, probably originally from Ptoon, illustrates well a local style shared with less well-preserved works from the sanctuary itself (Figure 2.13). The similarity to Naxian work is clear enough in pose, sharply defined hips and ribcage, and hairstyle, although there is a “provincial” simplification of forms. An apparently local mannerism is the organization of the pronounced abdominal muscles into a stack of horizontal bulges, creating a “washboard” effect. The date is probably around 570-560.

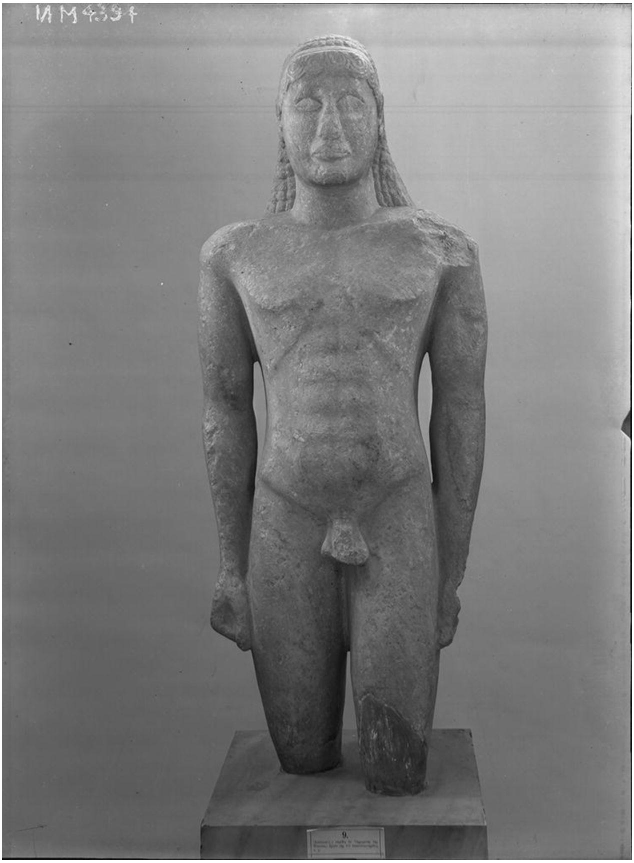

Figure 2.13 Kouros from Orchomenos, Boeotia. Athens, National Museum 9. Marble. Circa 570. H. 4′ 2″ (1.27 m).

Source: Athens, National Museum.

Like Dorian Crete, the Peloponnese produced numerous Daedalic limestone sculptures, but, aside from the perirrhanteria, marble sculptures are rare there. The artistic heyday of the two great centers – Sparta and Corinth – was in the seventh century, and the leadership in sculpture was thereafter ceded to the marble-rich islands and Attica. Until recently only the kouros from Tenea provided much insight (Figure 2.14). It is contemporary with the Volomandra statue and similarly influenced by island, especially Parian, work. It exceeds the Volomandra kouros in the massiveness of its physique, especially in the shoulders and thighs. The eyes, here again with tear duct, are flatter and more horizontal.

The hair is rendered in smooth rounded tresses, a rendering that resembles work in clay, which was a specialty of this region. The epigastric arch resembles island work, as does the subdued rendering of abdominal musculature. The knees are peculiarly formalized, which may be a local trait. Increasing the body of evidence, although perhaps not clarifying the picture, is the pair of over-life-size, marble kouroi illegally acquired and seized by Greek authorities in 2010; these have some marked peculiarities, especially in the form of the eyes and the hair, reflecting the wide degree of latitude that Archaic sculptors enjoyed when employing these statuary schemes.

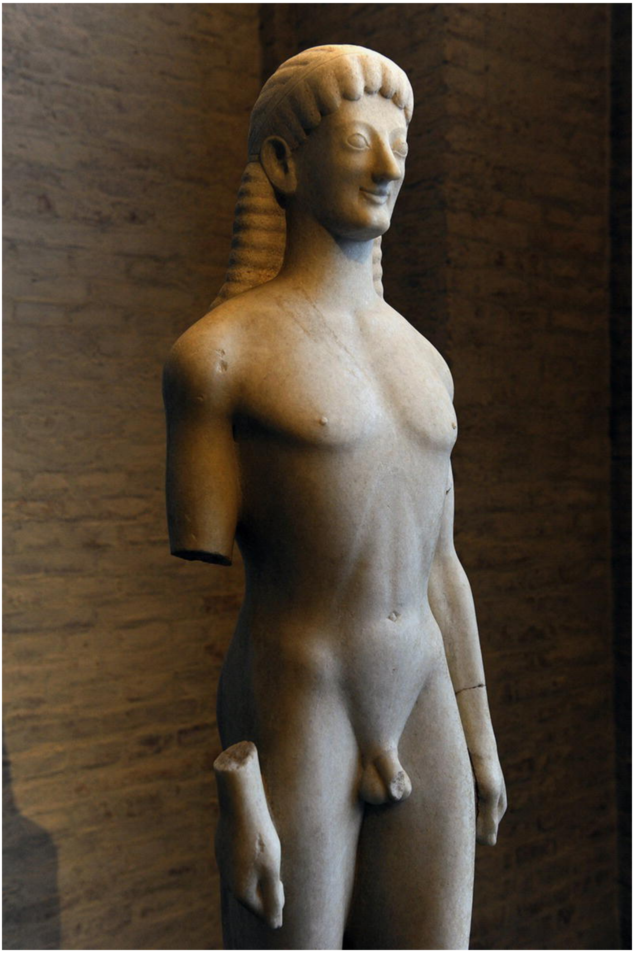

Figure 2.14 Tenea kouros. Munich, Glyptothek no. 168. Marble.

Circa 550. H. 5′ (1.53 m).

Source: akg-images/Album/Prisma.

The most famous of twin kouroi, at Delphi, bring our account to a close, ending, as we began, with Solon. In his account of the Athenian sage's visit with Croesus of Lydia, Herodotus has him relate the story of Cleobis and Biton as among the most fortunate of men.

> These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prize winners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Hera toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves to the yoke and drew the carriage with their mother sitting thereon: for five and forty furlongs they drew it till they came to the temple. Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos came round and gave the youths joy of their strength, and so likewise did the women to their mother, for the excellence of her sons. She then in her joy at what was done and said, came before the image of the goddess and prayed that her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had done such great honour to the goddess, should be given the best boon that a man may receive. After the prayer the young men sacrificed and ate of the feast; then they lay down to sleep in the temple itself and never rose up more, but here ended their lives. Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because of their excellence." *Histories* I.31; tr. Godley 35–37.

Excavations at Delphi uncovered, in 1893–4, two well-preserved kouroi in island marble, each nearly six and a half feet tall (Figure 2.15). Inscriptions partially preserved on the plinths include the signature of an Argive sculptor named […]medes; these are surely the statues to which Herodotus refers. Interestingly, he states that they were statues "*of* them," which should mean representations of the Argive youths themselves. Although the art of portraiture was well established in Herodotus' day, it is questionable to what extent it existed in the early sixth century. The votive practices of Ionia show that a statue could stand for, if not necessarily represent, an individual. Alternatively, they have been seen as manifestation of the widespread myth of divine twins, specifically here the Dioscuri, who would embody the *aretē* that was the cause of their commemoration, and, at same time, reflect the Greeks' ambiguous attitude about the liminality of life and death inherent in their story. A specific identification of this kind is not unlikely, since their boots mark them as something other than generic kouroi.

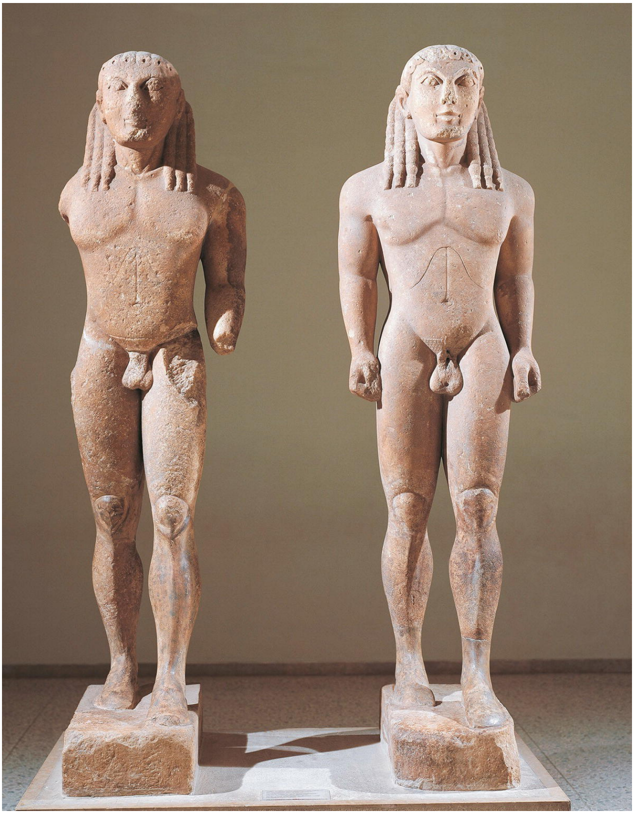

Figure 2.15 Cleobis and Biton. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. 467, 1524. Marble. Circa 580–570. H. (restored) 6′ 4″ (1.97 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti.

Do they represent an Argive school of sculpture? They are stylistically enigmatic. They have been classed with the very earliest kouroi, and they have some strikingly primitive traits – the Daedalic hairstyle, flat face, and overall broad frontality, the linear depiction of the epigastric arch (island-like), and peculiar continuous incised oval of the knee. The latter, especially when seen in profile, together with lines along the thigh, closely resembles a typical pattern seen in black-figure vase painting. Yet other features are more advanced. The eye is especially spherical and three dimensional, a trait normally found only in much later work. A channel is deeply cut into the orbital cavity above the upper lid, the lower edge of which is itself carved free of the underlying eyeball. The straight mouth is also inset within a sensitively rendered protrusion of the cheeks and chin. One could attribute the apparent discrepancy to the statues belonging to a place (the Peloponnese) and time (circa 570) not well represented by extant marble statuary, a connection also suggested by their stylistic similarity to contemporaneous architectural sculpture in limestone (cf. Chapter 4). It may also be that, as argued above, Daedalic sculpture itself dates to the early sixth century, yet one is still left with the feeling that there is a kind of archaism here. It would be difficult to say whether this results from a deliberate desire to represent heroic figures from long ago or from an enduring conflict in sculptural production between the retention of inherited schemes and the drive toward increased naturalism – a primary defining feature of Archaic art.

Cleobis and Biton stood at Delphi as twin icons of the search for order – the theme with which this chapter began. The heroes themselves served as a paradigm of an unwavering *aretē* that was the aspirational goal of mortal man, but which in the end proved incompatible with the inconstancy of mortality itself. The statues' blend of formalistic and naturalistic features illustrates the Archaic desire to elicit a conceivable and controllable fixedness from the ephemeral beauty of the human form. With them we are for the first time brought face to face with the writings of an ancient Greek historian – Herodotus. Much that has been explored in this chapter is ahistorical, focusing on what we can glean, from close stylistic and material analysis alone, about the production and usage of statuary. The issues that have emerged – regional styles, cross-influences among centers of production, and chronological evolution – continue to be of importance in the succeeding era, when the historical sources become more plentiful and thus the interpretation of meaning is better informed by far.

3

Free-Standing Sculpture in the Later Sixth Century: Style and Panhellenism (circa 550–500)

By the middle of the sixth century, roughly two generations after the appearance of marble statuary in Greece, the regional distinctions outlined in the previous chapter begin to blur. Increasingly extensive interactions among the Greek poleis in a world that by then stretched from one end of the Mediterranean to the other rendered this development all but inevitable. Competition is still key, but now the rivalries are less Greek versus Phoenician than Greek versus Greek, and they operated both within and among the various city-states. Agonistic relationships among the factions within each polis continued to favor the rise of tyranny, and more than ever before tyrants would vie among themselves in advertising the greatness of their own homeland, and by extension, themselves. As before, competition led to emulation, regional differences broke down, and overall stylistic development from abstract to more organic forms picked up its pace considerably.

In this period as well, our interpretations become more historically informed as sources become more plentiful and more direct. Most significant by far is the work of Herodotus, whose *Histories* provides our fullest treatment of the events of the sixth century (see box), and whose historical emphases reveal much about Classical views of the Archaic past. Herodotus' account of the Persian Wars of 490–479 reaches far back in time to search for causes – an *etiological* approach that links Herodotus with the similarly inquisitive philosophical viewpoints of the late sixth century Pre-Socratics. Whereas earlier philosophers focused on the composition of the universe and the source of the order that governs it, in the later sixth century, thinkers such as Xenophanes, Heraclitus, and Parmenides speculated on issues of permanence and change, reality and perception, reason and observation. In sculpture there occurs a similar shift when the schemata of the early Archaic are finally challenged by increasing perceptualism.

Box Chronology and Herodotus

Herodotus, “Father of History,” was born in the Greek city of Halicarnassus on the coast of Caria, just south of Ionia proper. He travelled extensively, spent time in Athens, and joined the Athenians in their colonization of Thurii in south Italy in 444. His *Histories* provide a detailed account of the conflicts between Greeks and Persians that occupied most of the first quarter of the fifth century, but he focuses the greater part of his work (five of nine books) on background, tracing the origins of Greek/Oriental enmity, the rise of the Lydian kingdom, its conquest by the Persian king Cyrus, and the Persian expansion into Egypt, lands north of the Black Sea, and the Balkans. His account of the Archaic era constitutes the earliest narrative history preserved from ancient Greece. Herodotus was not, like his younger contemporary Thucydides, a narrator of events through which he lived. He was probably born around the time that the final events of his history took place. Yet he surely knew many people who participated in the Persian wars, as well as the sons and grandsons of those who witnessed events of the sixth century, and we know, because he tells us so, that he asked a lot of people a lot of questions.

While the chronology of Greek events (and thus works of art) becomes fairly secure beginning around 500, for the earlier period it is far less so. Fortunately, Greek art, unlike that of earlier Near Eastern civilizations, follows a detectible pattern of stylistic development, allowing one to assign a given work a place relative to others in the sequence. The key is to fix as many points in that chronology absolutely, to a particular date in time. For the Geometric, Orientalizing, and early Archaic periods these dates are archaeologically derived. These include **synchronisms** – the discovery of Greek objects together with datable objects from other cultures with more secure chronologies. Also potentially useful is the association of excavated material with the datable foundation or destruction of a site, although such information still offers only approximations, since one never knows how old something was when it found its way into a datable context.

Some information of this sort is given by Herodotus, such as the destruction of old Smyrna or Croesus' contributions to the building of the Ephesian Artemisium, but even more important for the construction of chronology are the specific dates he provides for two monuments in particular. In relating events of the year 525, he notes that the Siphnians had just built a treasury at Delphi, a building that is both well preserved and elaborately equipped with sculpture, including supports in the form of korai (caryatids) (Figure 3.3). Herodotus also tells us that the Delphic Apollo temple, which burned in 546, was not completely rebuilt until after 513, funded by the Athenian Cleisthenes; its pediments include figures in the form of both kouroi and korai. While these works themselves are largely discussed in the following chapter with architectural sculpture, they provide the most important fixed chronological points for the late sixth-century stylistic developments in statuary and relief that are traced here.

Herodotus' keen sense of identity and alterity is further revealed by his fascination with the exotic. Following the era of colonization, newly Hellenized lands were integrated more tightly with the mainland states. This is seen in the involvement of "colonial" Greeks (and even non-Greeks such as Lydian Croesus) at the four major Panhellenic sanctuaries; in the sixth century Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea all added games in emulation of Olympia, although each, like Olympia, also had its own foundation myth reaching to pre-Homeric times. Here structures were erected, side by side, in styles and stones native to each sponsoring polis; artistic cross-fertilization was inevitable. Moreover, during the extension of Persian hegemony over the Ionian cities following the defeat of Croesus in 546, there was increased movement of Ionian Greeks westward across the Aegean, especially to Athens, where non-Athenian vase-painters and sculptors were welcome and plentiful. Indeed, Athens was distinctly eastern rather than western oriented. Dependent on Pontic grain imports, the tyrant Pisistratus (circa 560–527, with interruptions) established a strong Athenian presence in Thrace and the northern Aegean. He fostered the cult of Apollo on Delos, encouraging Athens' legendary association with the Ionians of the Aegean, and perhaps also instituted in Athens the cult of Apollo Patroos – father of the Ionian race. The emergence of Athens as a leading artistic, economic, and religious center is reflected in both the votive sculptures of the Acropolis and the funerary statuary of the Attic countryside, in which the regional stylistic trends of the earlier Archaic era come to merge, resulting in a more nearly, but not entirely, uniform style, boldly anticipating the strong panhellenism of the succeeding Classical era. This is nowhere more evident than in the new forms of korai and kouroi.

Korai and Kouroi: Stylistic Development

An early stage in the development of later Archaic korai and kouroi is illustrated by a single find – a pair of statues unearthed in 1972 near Merenda, ancient Myrrhinous, southeast of Athens in the Attic *mesogeia*. Two similarly life-sized grave markers – a kore and a kouros – lay in a pit where they had been piously buried not long after their original placement, to judge from the exquisitely preserved pigment on the female figure. Her plinth fits a stone base reused in a nearby church and known since 1730; its inscription reads: "*Sēma* (sign or marker) of Phrasikleia. I shall forever be called *kore* (maiden), being allotted this name by the gods in place of marriage. [Aris]tion of Paros created me." Although signed by a Cycladic sculptor, Phrasikleia's most obvious affinities are with Attic, not island, work (Figure 3.1). Comparison with the Berlin Kore (Figure 2.12) betrays affinities in her pose, somewhat masculine physique, and garment. Unlike the delicate linear patterning of earlier East Greek korai, the pleats here are thick and substantial, especially in the skirt. Yet Aristion has not entirely neglected the traditions of his homeland. She pulls her skirt to one side like the Samian korai, with which she also shares a rendering of folds on her upper body by shallowly incised wavy parallel lines. Overall, there is a delicacy of rendering in both face and folds that contrasts strongly with the harshly cut and boldly projecting features and forms of the Berlin maiden. As one might expect from a Cycladic sculptor working in Attica, there is a clear and successful blending of Ionian and Attic forms.

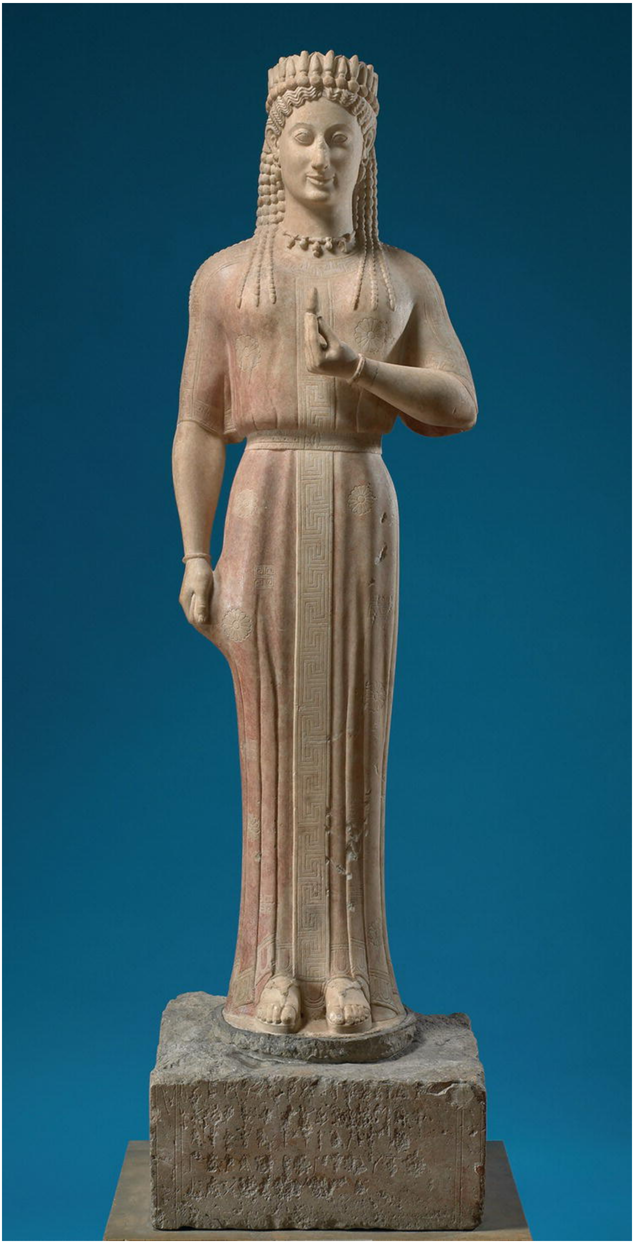

Figure 3.1 Kore from Merenda (“Phrasikleia”). Athens, NM 4889. Marble. Circa 540. H. 6′ 1″ (1.86 m).

Source: © 2015. Marie Mauzy/Scala, Florence.

The preservation of surface – retaining both painted and incised pattern – permits visualization of a statue that was brightly colored and highly adorned. The hems and seams of her chiton are decorated with geometric and floral patterns, as is the main fabric of the garment, with prominent rosettes and swastikas. These recall the woven patterns often seen on the garments of goddesses in early Archaic black figure, as well as the elaboration of Daedalic figures such as the Lady from Auxerre (Figure 1.11), and again they surely reflect the reality of Archaic Athenian finery. This elaboration carries over to her jewelry (diadem, earrings, and necklace) with lotus buds and flowers that resonate with the bud she holds forth in her left hand.

Around the time that the Merenda statues were set up, there was emerging a more “Panhellenic” style of kore, especially well represented by votive finds on the Acropolis, on Delos, and at Delphi. These are, like Phrasikleia, richly bejeweled and draped in brightly painted garb, but they differ in their adoption of the Ionian short diagonal mantle. The evolution of the type is best illustrated by the Acropolis korai, the two earliest of which already blend Naxian and Samian features. Of these, one (677) preserves its head, and the similarities with the Naxian sphinx are compelling – in particular, the sharply cut horizontal mouth, simple, clearly defined hair patterns, and tall oval face (Figure 3.2). Her eyes are similarly formed with the straight lower lid and arching upper lid with incised line. They are smaller than the sphinx’s, but she is later, near mid-century; the blending of traditions, as seen in the Delian Nike, is under way. The garment, however, seems to quote a different source. Not only the combination of diagonal mantle with underlying chiton, but also the schemes used to describe the substance and behavior of the drapery, recall the korai on Samos. The two Acropolis korai differ substantially from one another in the arrangement and the shape of drapery folds, but in both cases these folds are thicker, rounder, and more deeply cut than on the eastern examples. Such bold forms and structural analysis reflect the emergence of a distinct style around mid-century – one that blends Attic, Cycladic, and Ionian traditions.

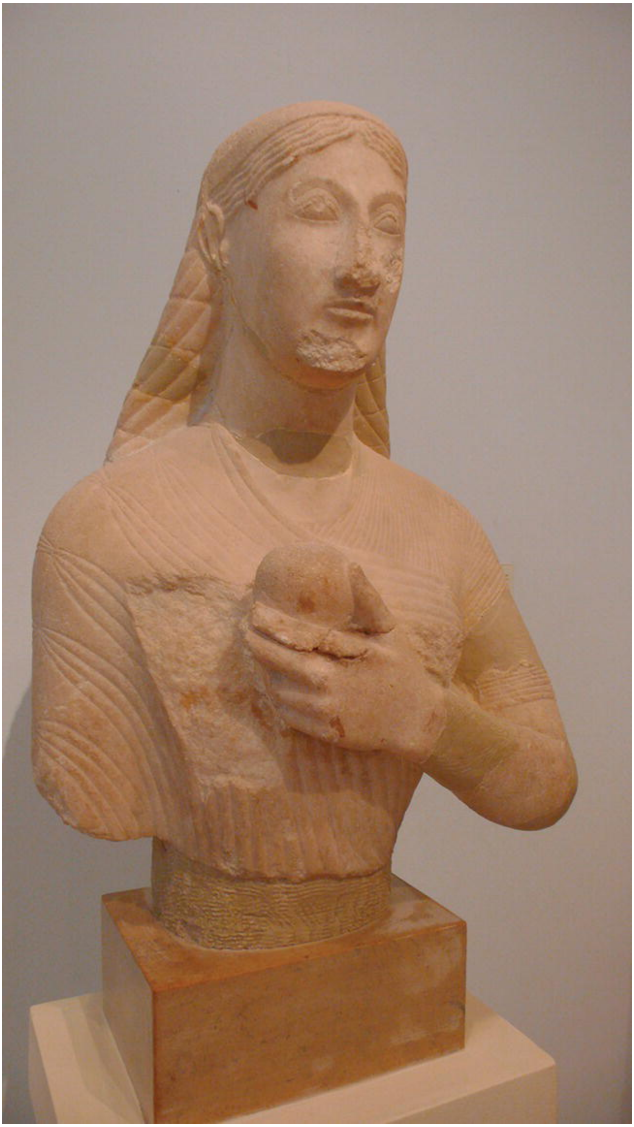

Figure 3.2 Naxian Kore from Acropolis. Athens, Acropolis Museum 677. Marble. Circa 560–550. H. 1′ 9″ (0.545 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

A caryatid from the Delphic **treasury** set up by the people of Siphnos (Figure 3.3) circa 530 (see box) illustrates a later stage in the development. The trend to the ornate is taken even further, extending from coiffure and jewelry to the drapery itself. She is dressed in chiton and Ionic mantle, yet these items are now carved in thick and deeply undercut pleats that fold back against themselves with a distinct plasticity that, in the zigzag edges, create substantial three- dimensional patterns. Cloth is pulled forward over the diagonal border to create a ruffled effect; the still artificial "crinkle" folds of the chiton over the chest stand out in much stronger relief than before. The softness of the facial features is shared with Parian kouroi, and the elaborate drapery patterns here are found also on korai from Delos. The treasury is of course a Cycladic dedication and construction. The features of the caryatid indicate that this was also a Cycladic *style*, one associated with the Parian school that emerged as dominant around mid-century; part at least of the building has been seen as a later work of Aristion himself, although the evidence is not strong.

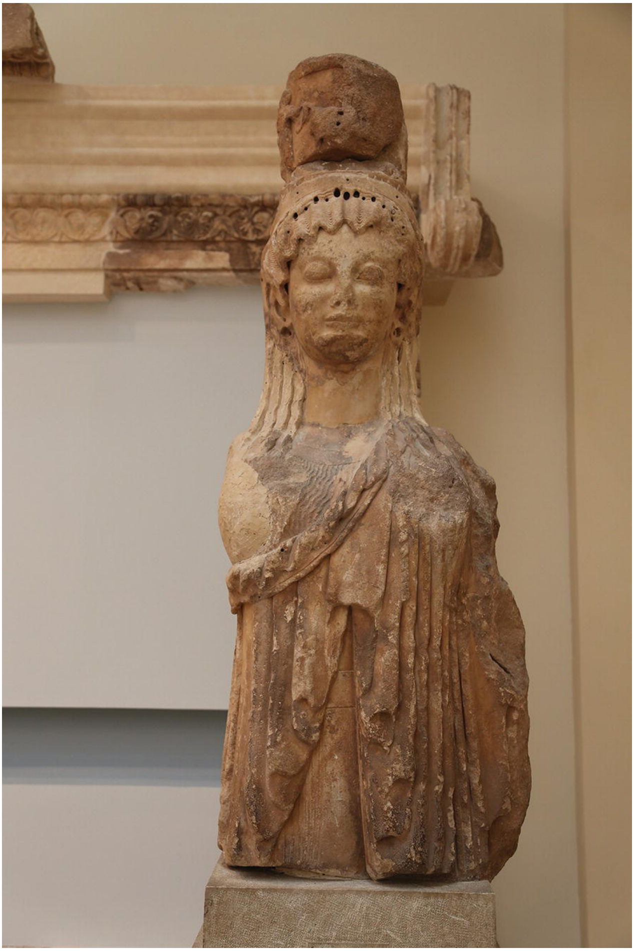

Figure 3.3 Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollo. Siphnian Treasury Caryatid. Delphi, Museum. Marble. Circa 525. H. 5′ 9″ (1.75 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Photo by author.

While many traits can be traced to the Cyclades, by the time of the Siphnian Treasury there was an emerging uniformity of style across the mainland, the islands, and Asiatic Greece. By far the most plentiful source of examples is the Athenian Acropolis, which saw a sharp increase in votive activity in the second half of the century. Inscribed bases document significant variety in material, scale, and form, and historical circumstances have preserved a disproportionately large number of the marble korai themselves. There are many variations on the standard scheme, including those with the mantle fastened at both shoulders or no mantle at all. The style closely resembles that of the Siphnian caryatid, and many are likely the work of island masters who moved their workshops to Athens to meet the new demand; the distinction is less significant than ever. A late stage in the development is seen in Acropolis 674, whose drapery scheme, although similar to that of the Siphnian caryatid, lacks some of its plastic exuberance (Figure 3.4). Her face, moreover, reflects that especially Attic interest in clearly articulated structure; one clearly understands the jaw, brow, and cheekbones beneath the smooth marble facial surface, and her eyes begin to look a bit more like orbs within the cranial structure than like flat almond appliqués. That she smiles barely, if at all, is of course a harbinger of things to come.

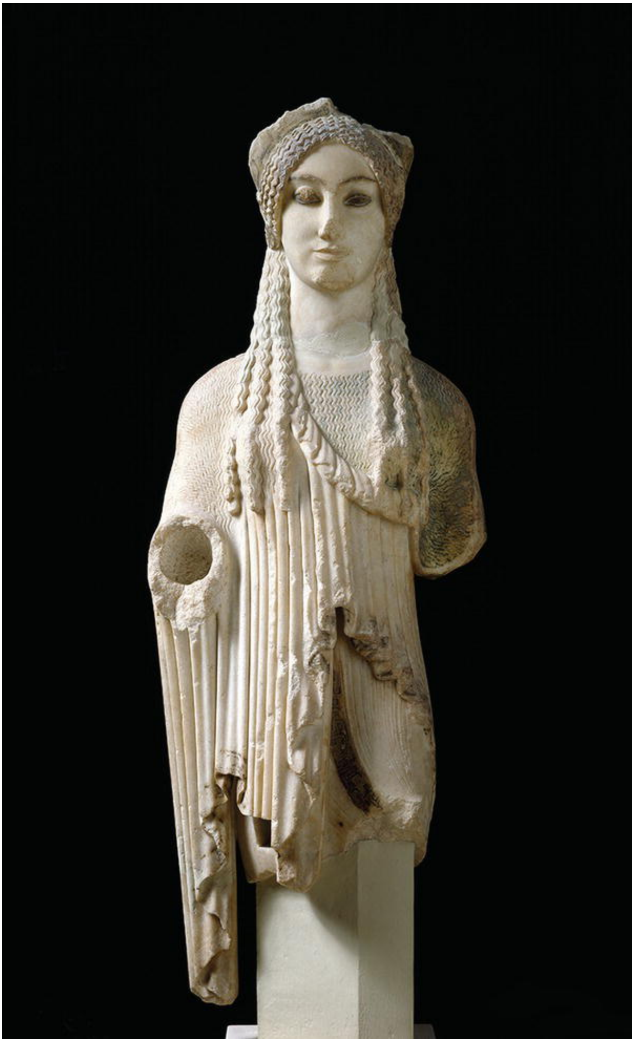

Figure 3.4 Kore from Acropolis. Athens, Acropolis Museum 674. Marble. Circa 500. H. 3′ (0.92 m).

Source: © Leemage/Corbis.

Two korai deserve separate treatment. Approximately contemporary with the Siphnian Treasury is Acropolis 679, whose nickname ("**Peplos** Kore") derives from her garment, which evokes the form of Daedalic and early sixth-century korai, although the layering of fabric connects her with the contemporary, more conventional, late Archaic korai (Figure 3.5).

She wears a sleeved chiton, visible on her arms and above her feet, under a heavy and highly ornamented sleeveless tunic, now thought, through study of preserved paint, to consist of two separate garments; a fourth, cape-like, garment is draped over her shoulders and upper body. The facial features, resembling Attic work of around 530, also contrast with the nearly foldless simplicity of form, and its separately attached outstretched arm further links it to its Acropolis neighbors of the "Panhellenic" style. Moreover, the rendering of the garment here, for all its restraint, is entirely up to date in its details – drapery edges folding back against themselves, the delicate narrow pleating below the belt, and the subtle indications of the legs beneath the skirt. Such a mixture of older with contemporary styles is used in later times to indicate a statue marked off by its garment from the more modern renderings of the figures around it, and such also may be the case here if the kore were part of a narrative group. Two more details that support this reading are the outstretched arm, here the left rather than, on other Acropolis korai, the right, and the trace of a bronze dowel atop her head. If the former held a shield and the latter secured a helmet, she would then be an icon of Athena.

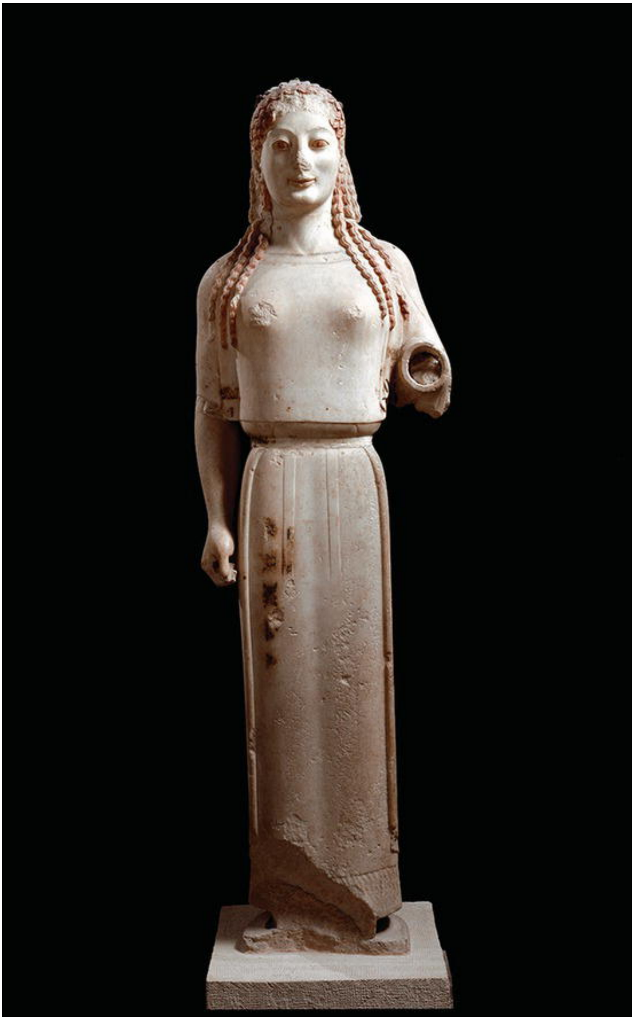

Figure 3.5 “Peplos Kore” from Acropolis. Athens, Acropolis Museum 679. Marble. Circa 530–520. H. 3′ 10″ (1.17 m).

Source: © Leemage/Corbis.

The second kore of note is Acropolis 681, remarkable for her monumental scale (Acropolis korai were usually under life-size and often quite small) and virtuoso marble working, with the drill as well as point and chisel (Figure 3.6). Late Archaic korai reveal an increasing interest in modeling solid forms through undercutting and, thereby, the manipulation of light and shadow. Here the trend is taken to extreme, as seen in the hair pattern above the forehead, the risky separation of the shoulder curls from the body, and the tubular treatment of mantle folds. An inscription on its presumed base identifies Antenor as its artist and, as its dedicator, Nearchus. The homonymous Attic ceramicist known from painted signatures was an outstanding artist of the mid-century and father of at least two miniaturist painters. Pushing the connection, some have dated the statue near the beginning of the series, around 530. Antenor was prominent enough by the last decade of the century to be commissioned to cast the original statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, tyrannicides and fictive liberators of Athens (see Chapter 5). These dated surely after, but not much after, 510. His training in bronze may well explain the peculiarities of this work in marble, not only the "metallic" tubular folds but also the separately worked and inset eyes. A slightly earlier date seems plausible for the kore. As for Nearchus – perhaps he was a later potter or workshop owner, a grandson of the earlier master who achieved commercial success in the family business. If this restoration is accurate, or if the dedicator was in fact a potter at all, one can infer that the ability to dedicate prominent, expensive dedications on the Acropolis was not limited to the aristocracy. This practice is consistent with characterizations of Pisistratus and his sons as leaders who, in keeping with a Solonian structure of government, acted in the interests of wealthy landholders and businessmen alike, and whose objectives had as much to do with economic health, security, and public welfare as with despotic control.

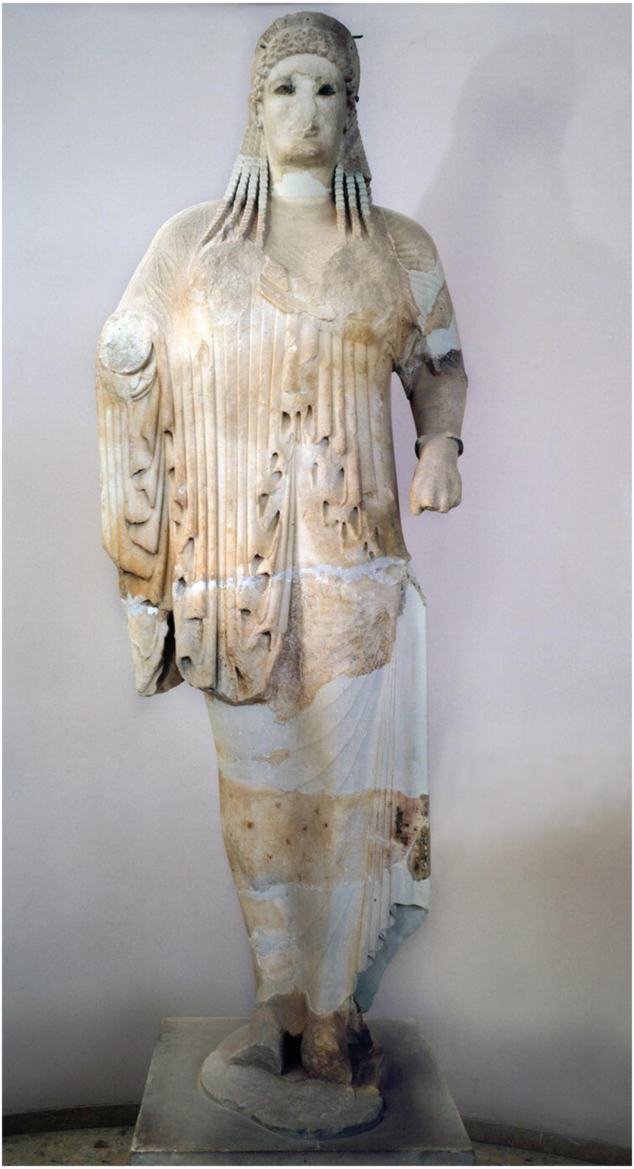

Figure 3.6 “Antenor’s Kore” from Acropolis. Athens, Acropolis Museum 681. Marble. Circa 520. H. 7′ 1″ (2.15 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

The kouroi follow a stylistic development similar to that of the korai, characterized by a clear, if gradual, refinement of the quasigeometric patterning of earlier Archaic forms – anatomy in the kouros, drapery in the kore, hairstyles and facial features in both – into more nuanced and, in the end, more apparently "realistic" renderings. In kouroi specifically, it is a further development of what was already detected before mid-century – sharp linear divisions among musculoskeletal features give way to more subtle transitions in the surface forms of the body, although the basic interest in using the surface as map on which to plot subcutaneous structure continues unabated, especially in Athens. Here too there is a mixing of Cycladic and local traits, and Attic kouroi, like much other marble sculpture, continue to be carved from Parian stone; the involvement of Cycladic sculptors remains highly likely.

The kouros found with Phrasikleia is believed to have been carved a decade or so later than she and, unlike her, has not been fitted to a preserved base. A roughly contemporary kouros that has retained its base, however, was found further south in the Attic countryside, in the region of Anavysos (Figure 3.7). The text here ("Stop and mourn at the *sēma* of dead Croesus, whom raging Ares destroyed, fighting in the first rank") lacks the signature found on the base of Phrasikleia, but there are striking similarities in style. Perhaps the most exquisite example of the kouros type in its developed form, it is a powerful figure, not simply in its muscular upper torso, but especially in its lower torso and thighs, which differ markedly from those of its island cousins, and even much Attic work. More than anything this feature recalls Archaic representations of Heracles, and it may well be that the heroic quality inherent in that visual allusion was intentional. That this marked the grave of an aristocrat (named, one surmises, for the Lydian dynast) struck down in battle invites one to see its heroic physical quality as embodying the *aretē* of an elite citizen who died for his polis. Despite an emphasis on heroic strength displayed through painstaking formal description of anatomical structure, the forms themselves are rendered largely without reliance on sharply cut lines, as one muscle or skeletal element transitions smoothly to another. Comparison with the korai shows once more that anatomy and drapery renderings, as different as they are, evolve in similar ways.

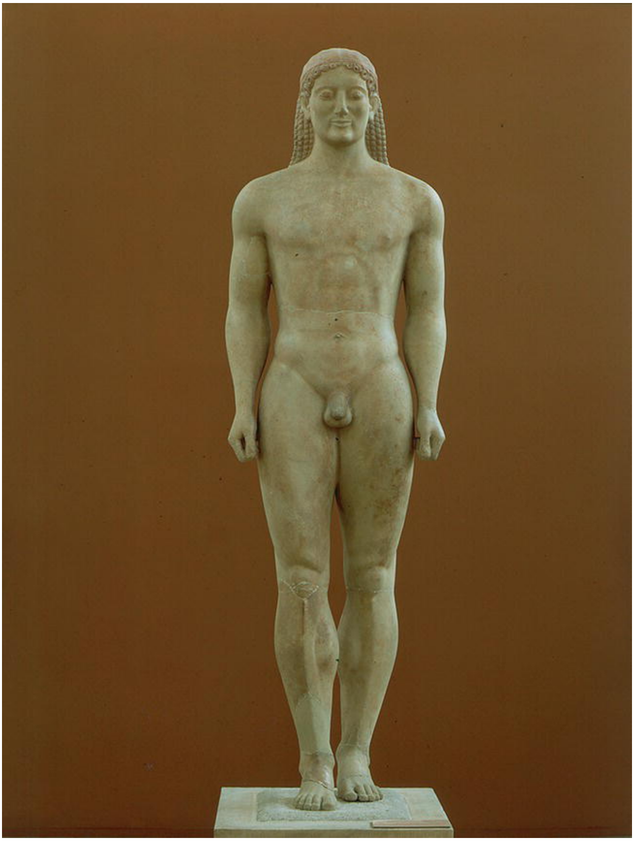

Figure 3.7 Kouros (“Croesus”) from Anavysos, Attica. Athens, National Museum 3851. Marble. Circa 530. H. 6′ 4″ (1.94 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

The funerary kouros of Aristodicus, identical to Croesus in function and scale and from a similar region of Attica, illustrates through its marked affinities and differences the stylistic developments of the subsequent generation (Figure 3.8). Still powerfully muscled, its individual features are similarly defined as on the earlier kouros. Aristodicus, however, is slenderer than Croesus, an effect enhanced by both his smaller head and the newly fashionable shorter hairstyle. His legs are clearly thinner and more widely spaced than Croesus.’ While his unbent knees and flat-footed pose remain true to the kouros type, Aristodicus’ stride is reflected by the slightly diagonal orientation of now more anatomically correct abdominal muscles. His arms, like Croesus’, attach to his hips, but the effect is entirely different. Croesus's arms are still stiff at his sides, attached to his thighs at his hands. Aristodicus' are slightly but unmistakably bent forward and held further out to the side; only thin struts connect his wrists to his body. One cannot avoid the impression that he is quite literally attempting to break free from a kouros scheme that has imprisoned statues and statue-makers alike for better than a century. It will be another generation before the fetters are gone for good.

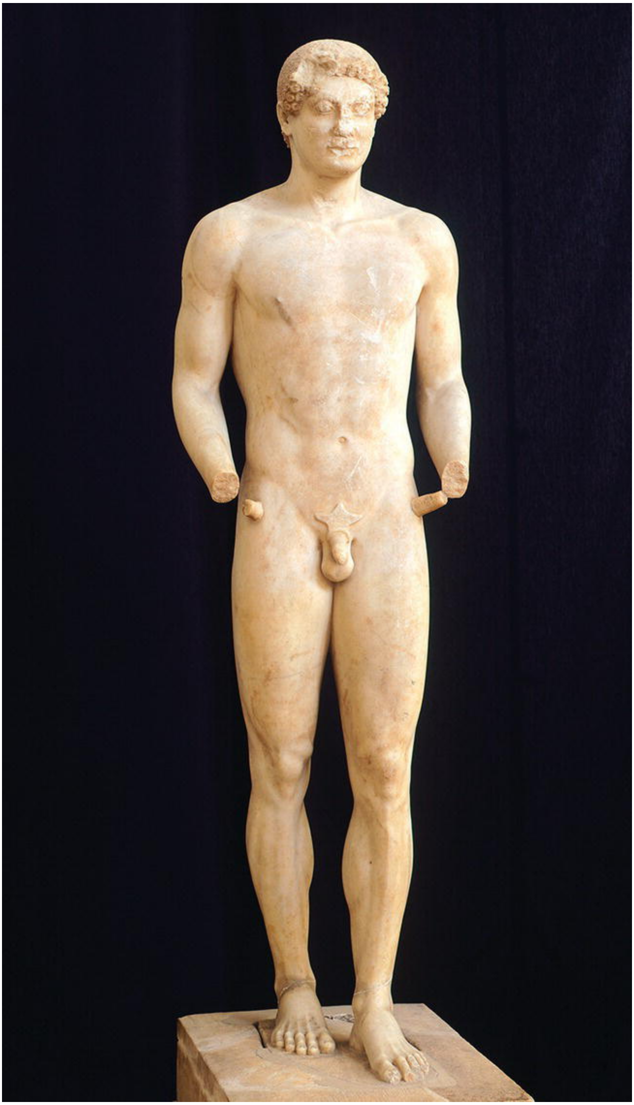

Figure 3.8 Aristodicus' Kouros from Attica. Athens, National Museum 3938. Marble. Circa 500. H. 6′ 5″ (1.95 m).

Source: © 2015. De Agostini Picture Library/Scala, Florence.

Other Acropolis Dedications

Accounts of Archaic statuary tend to be dominated by analyses of the kouros and kore types not only because they constitute a major portion of votive and funerary monuments but also because their inherent conservatism and peculiar anonymity promise deep insight into a communal Greek psyche (see below). Yet these were far from the only possible forms for freestanding sculpture. The sanctuaries and cemeteries across the Greek world have also yielded statues of animals, both real and fantastic, including sphinxes, gorgons, sirens, birds, horses, lions, bulls, and dogs. Of the anthropomorphic statues, some differ from the kouroi and korai simply in being equipped with potentially identifying attributes. A kouros can be modified to depict Apollo, for example, or a kore to represent Athena; it has been argued that most or all of the Acropolis korai fall into the latter category. Figures holding animal or vegetal offerings or attributes are also variously identified as the practitioners or recipients of ritual activity. We have already considered the winged figure from Delos, likely to be Nike; an earlier version, in hammered bronze, is known from Olympia. The Geneleos group is believed to have included a draped kouros, a type well represented in Asia Minor but known also on the mainland; in most cases the garment is believed either to fix the transitory meaning of the kouros as a worshipper, or, if the garment is associated with a particular god, as divine. Others differ in their pose – seated, reclining, running, flying, and riding, similarly demonstrating a need to distinguish a particular image from its more generic counterpart.

Among the earliest monumental votives from the Acropolis is the **Moschophoros** ("calf-bearer"), carved, atypically, from local Attic ("**Hymettian**") marble (Figure 3.9). Its plinth fits a base bearing a dedicatory inscription preserving in part the name ([Rh]onbos?) of the dedicator and his father ([Pa]los?). Its date has been placed as early as 570 and as late as mid-century; the later option seems more plausible on the basis of style. The statue, standing with its left leg advanced, is a kouros adapted to serve as an offering bearer, although the composition here is more sophisticated than that of a statue simply clasping an animal to its chest, as Cheramyes' korai do. The X-pattern created by the arms of the man and legs of the calf both ties the group together (in fact, the design looks rather like a knot) and reaffirms an essential Archaic property of frontality that risks being compromised by the three-dimensionality implicit in the calf's being wrapped around his shoulders like a stole. The (partially revealed) abdominal muscles have the sharp definition typical of Attic kouroi. Just as the mantle both reveals and conceals, so too does the thin skullcap covering his convexly beaded hair; Croesus wears similar headgear. The sharp formalism of certain features (lips and mouth, navel, eyelids and brows, beard) have suggested an early date, but the treatment of the calf is far more supple and naturalistic, especially in the texturing of his coat and the careful exploration of his musculoskeletal structure. The now missing inlaid eyes (typical of cast bronzes, which appear by this time) and added color would have made this a truly stunning work. The stylistic contrast between the two figures is a deliberate allusion to the distinct worlds of animal and man, and the tightly knit composition invokes the mutual implication of the two realms within the sacrificial act. Of course this reading assumes that the statue depicts a sacrificial offering rather than a divine recipient, or a mythological episode such as a cattle theft. A particularity in the form of the statue's toenail has suggested an association with a statue base preserving the plinth and toes of a funerary kore and an inscription naming both the deceased (Phile) and the sculptor (Phaidimos).

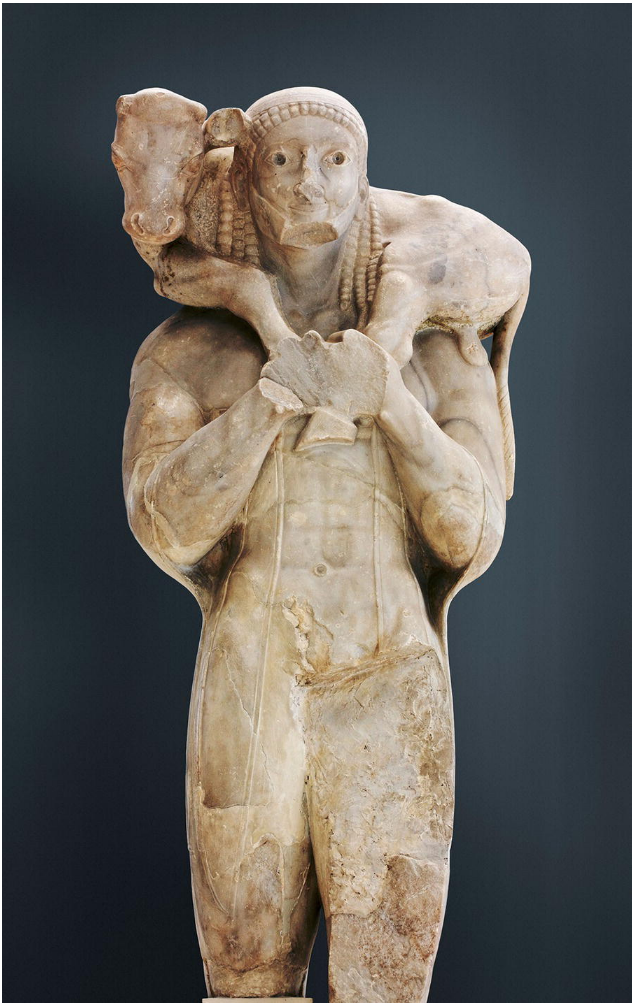

Figure 3.9 Moschophoros ("Calf-Bearer") from Acropolis. Athens, Acropolis Museum 624. Marble. Circa 560. H. (restored) 5′ 5″ (1.65 m).

Source: © Erin Babnik/Alamy.

From around the same time is the best preserved of several equestrian statues found on the Acropolis, to which belongs the Rampin head in the Louvre (Figure 3.10). It shares with the Moschophoros a similar interest in the articulation of anatomical structure, and such details as hair and beard, through sharply defined pattern. Despite the use of inset eyes on the older statue, the facial features of the two are strikingly similar. As befits a horseman, he looks slightly to one side, to see and be seen from behind the neck of his mount, which turns slightly in the opposite direction. The pose suggests that the statue may have been one of a pair, and it has long been assumed that stylistically similar fragments of an equestrian statue come from a mirror image twin. Both historical (Hippias and Hipparchus – likely too late for this group, but not impossible) and mythological (Castor and Pollux) subjects have been proposed. Alternatively, they could be both – a Peisistratid dedication depicting the Dioscuri and referencing the brothers' equine names, functioning thus like Cleobis and Biton. The existence of a pair has itself been questioned, since the fragments cited as evidence can be explained otherwise. It may be that this form of dedication was simply meant to underscore the idea of aristocratic/heroic status, much like earlier Geometric horses and the horses on the later Parthenon frieze.

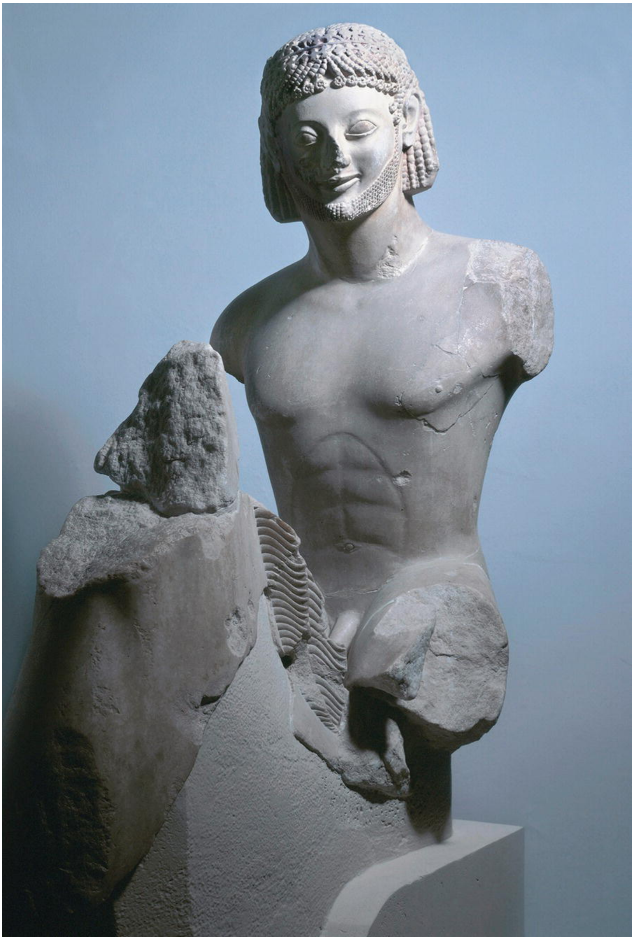

Figure 3.10 "Rampin Rider" from Acropolis. Paris, Louvre 3104 (head)/Athens, Acropolis Museum 590 (horse/rider). Marble. Circa 550. H. (of head) 11″ (0.29 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

Seated statues exist already among the Daedalic works from both Crete and the mainland, and there are numerous sixth-century examples from the Greek east, such as the Phileia from Samos and a large series from Didyma. Examples from Athens and Attica include both votive and funerary works; both representations of deities and references to deceased and dedicators apparently existed. A seated Athena from the Acropolis, well preserved but badly weathered, wears an aegis with **gorgoneion** (with snakes once added in bronze), so its identity is confirmed. Pausanias saw there an Athena by Endoius, who is known on other grounds to have worked in the later sixth century. Since the Athena belongs around 520, the association is tempting and by repetition now generally accepted. Seated male figures are also known. One found in Athens is, by its association with others from the **Cerameicus**, thought to be funerary. Its stool is covered by a panther skin, so it could be Dionysus or perhaps simply Dionysiac – maybe a priest. The Attic countryside has produced other seated statues, including the well-known "Dionysus" from Ikaria and seated funerary statues, both male and female. Many early wooden cult statues, known largely from literary sources, were likely seated, including the most sacred Athena Polias herself.

Of special interest among the seated votives are the small "scribes" from the Acropolis, which show seated draped male figures in the act of writing (Figure 3.11). One has been associated with an inscribed column that names the honoree, Chairion, and the dedicator, his son Alcimachus. A man by this name is known to have been a *tamias*, or treasurer, of Athena, around mid-century. The style of the statue, however, is later, toward 510–500, so it would have to have been erected by the son to fulfill a vow taken earlier by the father. Its blockiness and attention to structural detail connect it with the kouroi of the period, as does the increasing naturalism of drapery and anatomy. There is also a distinct freedom and asymmetry in its composition, dictated by and reflective of the figure's activity; his head looks down and to his left, his left arm and shoulder and right leg are raised in order to brace his work surface, and his lowered right fist clasps the writing implement. The contrast between its formalism and naturalism recalls that of the approximately contemporary Aristodicus. There can be little doubt here that this votive figure, as often in funerary reliefs, was intended both to embody the responsibility and status of its subject and express piety through his service to the goddess.

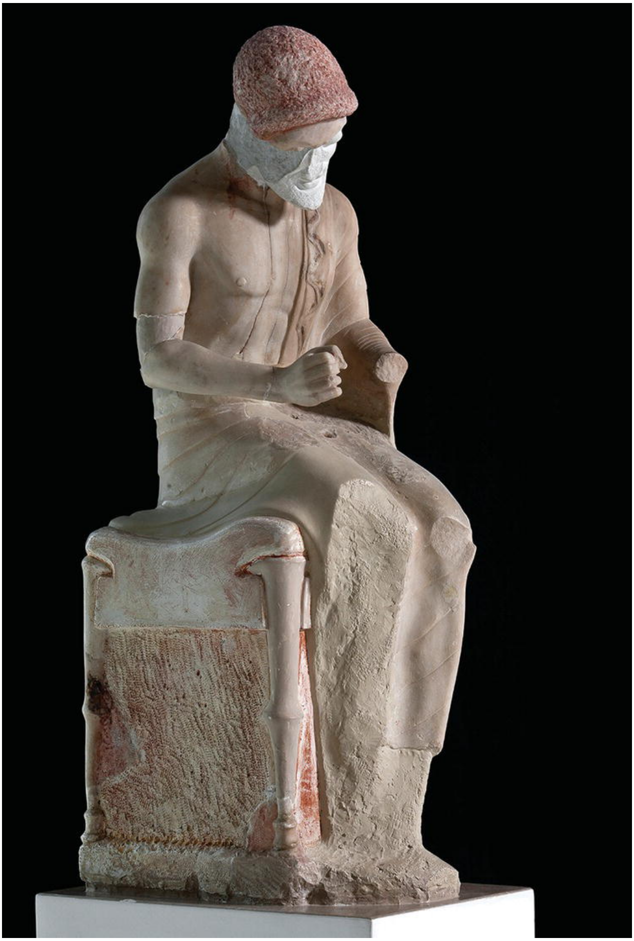

Figure 3.11 Seated scribe from Acropolis. Athens, Acropolis Museum 629. Marble. Circa 500. H. 19″ (0.45 m) (without head).

Source: Athens, Acropolis Museum.

The Meanings of Korai and Kouroi

These other forms of statuary, by comparison and contrast in both form and function, lead back to the central interpretive issue for the ostensibly anonymous kouroi and korai. Who did they represent? What did they mean? Why are they so determinedly generic? Usage patterns of the types vary greatly; some places employ one or the other schema as votive or funerary rarely, not at all, only for very limited periods, or differently in different periods. In Attica, for example, there are no certainly votive kouroi after the early Sounion statues, but on the islands and at Ptoon they continue to be plentiful. Attic funerary kouroi include the important early group from Athens itself, but later examples come mostly from the countryside, while reliefs become the more commonly used grave markers in the urban Cerameicus cemetery. As for korai, the prominence in our study of the Berlin kore and Phrasikleia occludes the fact that there are only a few other certainly funerary korai in Attica, and in all areas votive korai are found far more often than funerary. It may not be entirely accurate, furthermore, to see the two types as precisely equivalent phenomena; they differ not only in function and distribution, but also in the degree to which each constitutes a fixed type or schema. Korai stand in a variety of poses, they wear a variety of garments, they hold their arms in various positions, and their hands clutch or proffer forward a vast array of objects/offerings/attributes. A kouros stands in a particular way, he is naked, he holds his arms stiffly to his sides, and he is empty handed. If he deviates in any way from this stricture, he is not a kouros. Nor should we overlook the most obvious difference – gender, which should impact profoundly the way each type relates to both its dedicator and its recipient. So it would seem logical to consider the question of meaning separately for the two types, beginning with the more clearly defined.

Kouroi display physical qualities associated with Apollo but bear none of his identifying attributes. They are naked, perfectly youthful, blissfully smiling and alert, hold the potential for vigorous activity, and wear long locks streaming down their backs. The scheme is easily, and not infrequently, adapted through the addition of a bow, for example, to render Apollo explicitly. The earliest small bronze predecessors to the kouros, the Dreros, Mantiklos, and Delphi figures, were all dedicated to Apollo. The earliest marble kouroi appear to have been set up at Apollo's sanctuary on Delos, a very large number, spanning the entire Archaic period, were dedicated to the same god on Mt Ptoon, and they are well attested at Didyma as well. The earliest scholars called the kouroi "Apollos," but by the early twentieth century the generic term "kouros" came to be preferred, and most interpretations today still incline toward seeing kouroi as a physical embodiment of **aretē** or **kalokagathia** (roughly, beauty and nobility); the kouros' athletic nudity becomes in this case an attribute, referencing the close link between the gymnasium and the battlefields as arenas for the achievement of glory (**kleos**) and, in its bodily perfection, the image assimilates itself to the heroic or even the divine. A middle ground would accept the continuing association of the kouros with Apollo as the manifestation of those qualities that constitute the core identity of Apollo as a god. In a sense then, the kouros can be Apolline without actually representing Apollo, drawing its meaning from assimilation to that god.

The question is only slightly different when we consider the korai. The use of elaborate and expensive garments and jewelry are markers of female virtue in Greek society, just as athletic nudity is for the male. The Greek maiden was as an adornment to her family group, and the well-ordered (dressed, coiffed, bejeweled) kore exemplifies this concept especially well. Like the kouros, the kore can also be adapted for the depiction of deities; it has been argued that a number of the Acropolis korai were helmeted and thus represented Athena and that even those without armor should also be seen as the goddess. Nicandre may be Artemis, her Samian counterpart(s) Hera. Like the kouros, then, the kore too represents the ideal qualities associated with her gender. As we have seen, epigraphical and iconographic evidence suggests that Ionian votives were often meant to show or stand for worshippers, which in some cases might be (such as Genelaos' family group) and in others are decidedly not (Cheramyes' korai) representations of the dedicator. The kore scheme, which may well represent special, festival garb, may in the former cases represent the worshipper in a manner appropriate for approaching the divinity.

Both types, then, use their generic quality to explore the liminal space between mortality and divinity – the place where interaction between them occurs. Where sculptured offerings can be identified, whether bronze or terracotta statuettes or other forms of statuary, their subjects may equally be representations of the deity or representations of worshippers. Either was presumably pleasing to the god (as an *agalma*) by virtue of its possessing **charis** – the quality of displaying exceptional, divinely bestowed, pleasure-giving beauty. In other words, *charis* was what the worshipper received in exchange for his gift of *agalma* – as Mantiklos states explicitly on his inscribed bronze votive. Thus the kouros and kore alike could signify the male and female versions of divine perfection, each constructed according to the values of Greek society – male nude, draped female – and each capable of abstraction into a generic form of a *charis* that was the essence of the equal exchange between deity and worshipper– *charis* for *charis*. When personified as the Charites, it was in the form of a kore, not only during the Archaic period but frequently thereafter in Archaizing form. The architectural and artistic embellishment of a sanctuary functioned to facilitate this exchange. The statuary population of the sanctuary formed a permanent body of witnesses to the god's epiphany and, together with temples and altars, functionally complemented sacrifices and other activity that was the sanctuary's *raison d'être*. The fact that there was no detectible orthodoxy of votive practices suggests that worshippers were willing to try anything in the hope that something would work. Thus the votive kouros and kore were, in a sense, proleptic figurations of divine approbation, of *charis* itself.

Funerary uses were less different from votive than one might think. A continuous tradition of monumental grave markers in Athens is traceable to the giant Geometric vases of the Dipylon cemetery, which were at once funerary and heroic – embodying in shape and iconography the aristocratic virtue of the deceased, thus ensuring the continued preeminence of his family. It was a logical step, in the early sixth century, that the kouros type be given a funerary function (in this same cemetery) as a new form of commemoration and heroization of the deceased. That Croesus was later explicitly honored as a valiant war casualty supports this, although it does not necessarily follow that funerary kouroi were used for this purpose alone. Funerary korai are rarer than kouroi, and thus it is more difficult to generalize, but the two best known have attributes, and in the case of Phrasikleia an inscribed epithet (*kore*), that associate them with Persephone so that they might stand in relationship to that goddess much as the kouros relates to Apollo. Equally important, the gravesite was a locus of important ritual activity; libations were poured, offerings made, and gravestones adorned with ribbons. Since these acts performed to enlist the gods' assistance in preserving the honor and the immortal spirit of the deceased parallel the votive ceremonies performed in a sanctuary, similar statuary forms may have been used to embody similarly the concept of divine beneficence.

It has been argued that the two realms are, in fact, distinctly different and that funerary markers were intended specifically as a perpetuation of memory for the deceased and a marker of the transfer of his or her social roles to surviving family and community members. This is much clearer, however, in the case of grave reliefs (see below), which become more common and tend to particularize the object of commemoration, than for the emphatically generic form of the kouros and kore, apparently designed to embody values that transcend temporal existence. It is essential to recall that both funerary kouroi and korai were exceptional; they probably had a very particular usage that eludes us still and were in any case limited to a select element of society – those wealthy enough to afford a sculptured monument at all. This may have been a "superelite" that was deemed worthy of quasi-heroic veneration or, as some have suggested, those who died young, before fulfilling the normal sequence of roles within a lifetime (such as Phrasikleia). Whatever motivated this practice, it did not persist into the succeeding Classical era, when less generic forms of expression were preferred for votives and grave markers alike.

Bronze and Chryselephantine

The vast majority of Archaic monumental sculptures were in stone and most by far were marble. The situation was quite different in the Classical period, when freestanding votive statuary was predominantly bronze. Temple statues (or, more commonly, "cult statues") varied in material. Venerable wooden ones of legendary origin, such as Athena Polias in Athens, continued to be revered to the end of antiquity. Others could be marble, ivory, bronze, or a combination of materials such as **acrolithic** works, which use marble only for exposed arms, heads, and feet. Related to the last were creations in gold and ivory (**chryselephantine**), including famous Classical colossi in the Parthenon and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see Chapter 8). The use of such materials and techniques was an effective way to capture the dazzling, otherworldly impression of divine epiphany.

The production of small solid-cast bronzes occurs very early on Minoan Crete, and by the Geometric and Orientalizing periods modest hollow-cast figures (e.g., cauldron attachments) and somewhat larger hollow statues hammered from bronze were also made. The first large-scale hollow-cast bronzes, however, seem to have been cast around the mid-sixth century. Bronze statues were whenever possible melted down for reuse in later antiquity, so the hazards of preservation play an especially large role in limiting our body of evidence. That our earliest example – a fragmentary kouros from Olympia – is partially hollow and partially solid cast might suggest its date (ca. 550) as a time when the transition from the one process to the other was taking place. Like this Olympia piece, a recently found bearded Apollo from Mitropolis in Thessaly, subsequent sixth-century examples, and others documented by casting molds are all well under life-size until the end of the century, when a few larger statues are documented by extant cast bronze heads. Of course the first Tyrannicide group by Antenor mentioned above was erected shortly after 510, so we can be certain that the large-scale cast bronze statuary was by this time an established form of monument. Within a generation it would become dominant.

An enigma in this context is the Apollo (Figure 3.12) found at Piraeus together with three bronzes in Classical style – two Artemises and an Athena (Figure 12.11). This over life-size statue illustrates a phenomenon mentioned above – a kouros adapted to represent the god through the addition of identifying attributes (offering dish and bow) with a resulting adjustment of the arms. The rather crude facial features and heavy proportions seem early; the smooth, almost plastic, anatomy and hair are anomalous; the advanced right foot and, especially, skew orientation of the feet seem post-Archaic. Technical considerations are also ambiguous. Thick casting in just a few large pieces is consistent with Archaic practice, but the alloy is very close to that of his Classical companions. Thus there is lack of agreement on whether the Apollo is Archaic, immediately post-Archaic, or even much later, if all four statues were cast together. The process of bronze casting introduces issues of copying, multiple originals, and serial casting that do not vex the study of Archaic marble sculpture. These will become paramount in the evaluation of Classical works.

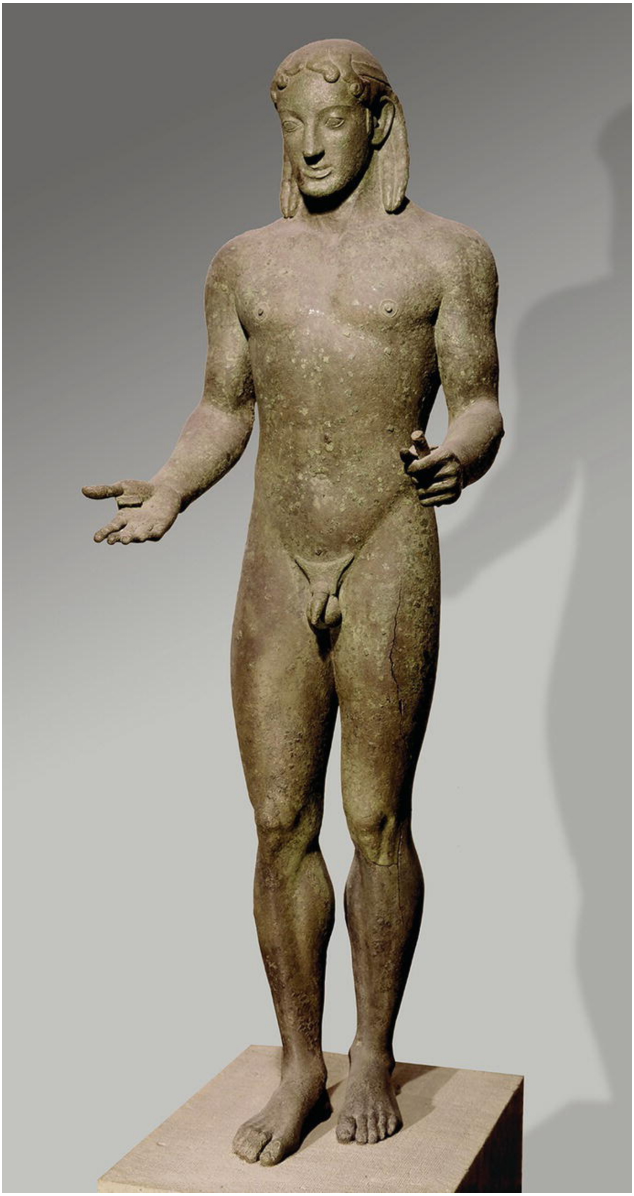

Figure 3.12 Statue of Apollo. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum. Bronze. Circa 520–500 or later(?). H. 6′ 4″ (1.92 m).

Source: Piraeus, Archaeological Museum.

Like cast bronze, chryselephantine also has a Bronze Age pedigree, and literary sources mention examples from the seventh and earlier sixth centuries. The most spectacular Archaic example is the group (probably depicting Apollo, Artemis, and Leto) found at Delphi in 1939 in the so-called Halos deposit opposite the Athenian Stoa (Figure 3.13). These life-size figures, of which the first two are sufficiently preserved for a suitable restoration, originally formed a spectacular dedication from the third quarter of the sixth century. These seated statues were damaged in a conflagration that consumed the building in which they were displayed, perhaps together with an over life-size silver bull that was found nearby. Heads and exposed sections of arms and feet were carved from ivory. Hair, diadems, and drapery were rendered with thin sheets of gold over a wooden core, and the thrones on which they sat were of gold-covered bronze. Much of the gold was adorned with repoussé renderings of real and fantastic animals; the style of these, and the distinct forms of the facial features, indicates Ionian work. It is tempting to count them among the spectacular dedications of the Lydian king Croesus that Herodotus describes (I.50), but they are perhaps a little late for this; it is equally likely that they were set up by a wealthy Ionian tyrant. The material itself may allude to the early sixth-century cult statue of Apollo on Delos, which, although standing, was certainly sheeted in gold and perhaps ivory as well. Such a reference would reinforce the Ionian connection and re-enact, in material form, the arrival of Apollo in Delphi from Delos as described in the Homeric Hymn and represented on the somewhat later east **pediment** of the Apollo Temple (see Chapter 4).

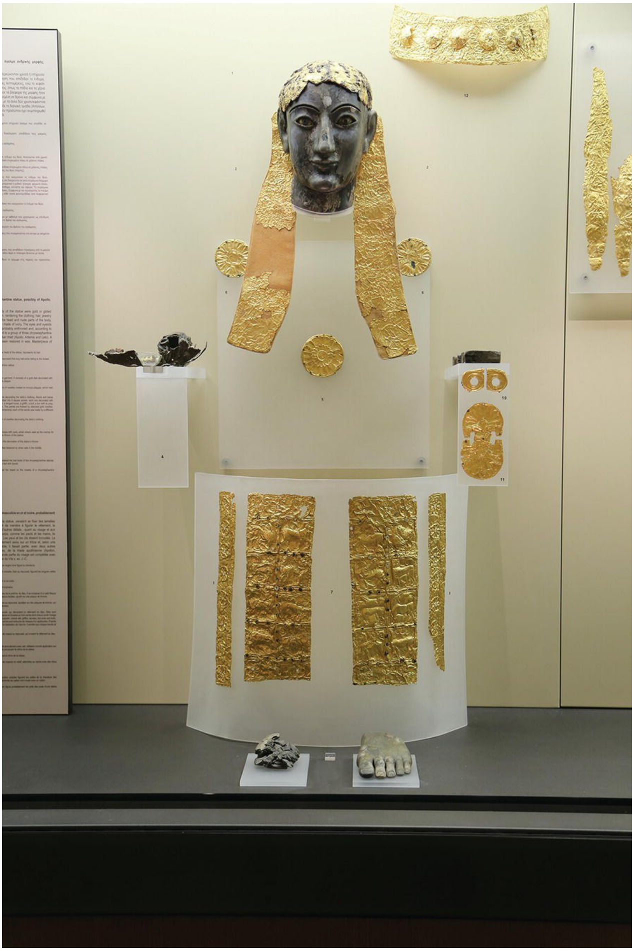

Figure 3.13 Chryselephantine statue of Apollo. Delphi Museum. Circa 540–530. H. 10″ (0.245 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

Grave and Other Reliefs

As noted already, statuary was less commonly used to mark graves than were sculptured reliefs. The origin of this practice is obscure, and thus disputed, but the best-preserved sequence, from Athens and Attica, begins with or soon after the earliest funerary kouroi there, and in the Cerameicus reliefs soon dominate. The production of conspicuous Attic grave monuments, including reliefs, ceased at the end of the century, perhaps (but not certainly) because of an antiluxury policy included among Cleisthenes' democratizing reforms. Grave reliefs do not recur in Athens until some 70 or 80 years later, around the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. These tall monuments (as much as 14 feet total height with base and finial) consist of thin marble slabs sculptured in very low relief and topped by a capital and sphinx or sometimes, after mid-century, a palmette. These later examples, perhaps influenced by Ionian practice, were smaller and simpler, sometimes painted or incised rather than sculptured, sometimes entirely lacking preserved figural representation. The sequence is based of course on style, and the quality of workmanship is fully comparable to that of contemporary statuary and temple sculptures. Like the excellent late sixth-century Aristion stele, sculptured by Aristocles, they often depict warriors or athletes, and thus particularize the concepts of manly virtue that inhere to the kouros type, since they are considerably more detailed and descriptive (Figure 3.14). The warriors are armed, here in full panoply, but sometimes with only spear, helmet, and/or shield. The athletes hold accoutrements of the gymnasium, for example a discus or aryballos; one boxer even shows what seems to be a cauliflower ear. There are also family groups: boy and girl, woman and girl, mother and child, and the overall impression is strongly characterizing, if not biographical, in contrast with the anonymity of the kouroi and korai.

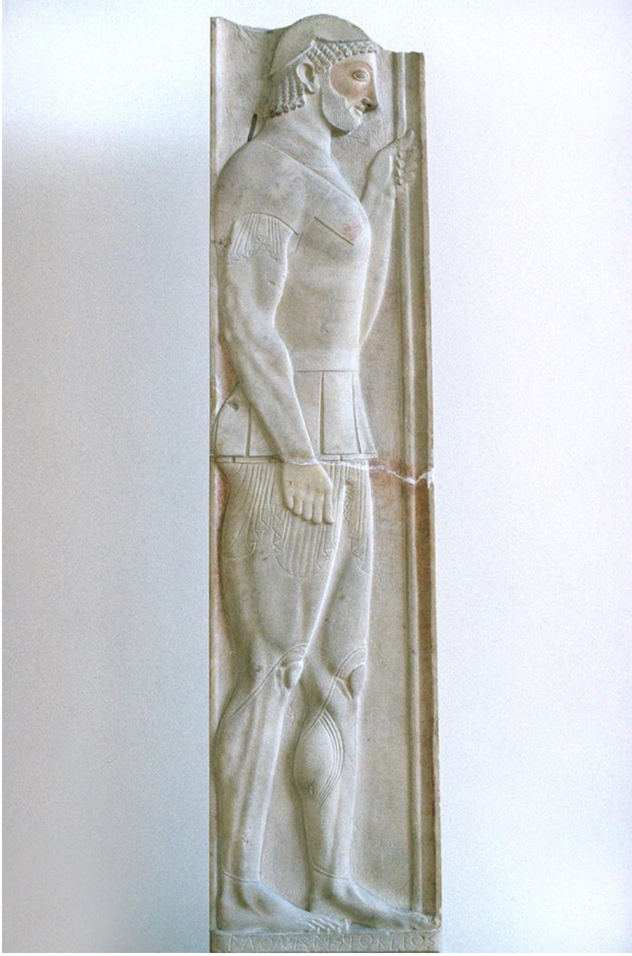

Figure 3.14 Stele of Aristion from Attica, signed by Aristocles. Athens, National Museum 29. Marble. Circa 510. H. 7′ 10″ (2.4 m).

Source: © Chris Hellier/Alamy.

Other forms of relief sculpture include votive plaques and sculptured bases, many of which were found rebuilt into the Classical fortification walls. One example bears a scene of departing warriors on one side and athletic competition on another. It is tempting to see this as another kind of gloss on the heroizing statue it bore, again showing the equivalence of athletic and military prowess, but it is not clear what form this statue took.

More surely a kouros base, and especially interesting from the view of stylistic development, is a monument found near the Piraeus Gate (Figure 3.15). The expanded field and less limited iconography of decorative relief seem here to have given the artist more liberty for experimentation. On three sides of the base reliefs depict aristocratic youths at sport – a cat and dog fight and athletes running, wrestling, jumping, putting the shot, and throwing the javelin. On one side the figures rotate in space, suggesting three-dimensional motion in the manner of a “flipbook” while presenting a series of figure studies of the human body from various point of view, experiments better illustrated by the more numerous masterpieces of contemporary red-figure vase painting. One might expect the kouros atop this base to have been rather like Aristodicus, statue and relief similarly breaking free from the strictures of Archaic convention – bonds that would be broken forever with the turn into the next century.

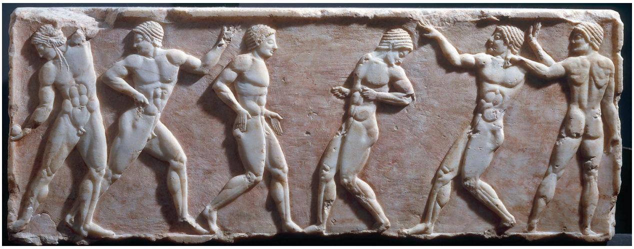

Figure 3.15 Kouros Base. Athens, National Museum 3476. Marble. Circa 510. H. 1′ 1″ (0.32 m).

Source: akg-images/Nimatallah.

4

Sixth-Century Architectural Sculpture

While monumental stone sculpture was frequently used as architectural adornment in Bronze Age Egypt and Anatolia, only the Lion Gate at Mycenae represents any comparable practice in Greece. Architectural sculpture continued in use in Egypt and the Near East during the Iron Age, and some Daedalic sculptures from Crete, and maybe the Peloponnese, seem to have been affixed to buildings. None of these works, however, served as a direct inspiration for Archaic Greek architectural sculpture, which emerges logically from the so-called "orders" – Doric and Ionic – that describe two basic patterns of arrangement and embellishment for columned temples with stone superstructures and gabled roofs. While the peristyle temple existed as early as the eighth century (at Ephesus), debate remains concerning the origins of both orders (see box). Many early candidates have been proposed as first examples, but before around 600 colonnades and roofing systems (apart from terracotta tiles) were of wood, and thus their appearance is inferred rather than preserved. The current consensus holds that both the Doric and Ionic orders in stone develop at the beginning of the sixth century, about the same time as the earliest stage in the development of marble kouroi and korai.

The Doric order strictly prescribes the locations of architectural sculpture by permitting it in only three places – the **metopes**, the **pediment**, and atop the peak or corner of the roof as **acroteria**. The first two are understood to represent non-weight-bearing elements; the metope/**triglyph** alternation is considered a vestige of alternating beam ends and spaces between, and the pediment is an open space framed by the horizontal and raking cornices filled only by a stone membrane called a **tympanum** (literally, drum head). Acroteria were articulations of angled elements, sometimes in the form of winged beasts or deities alighted on the rooftop. The Ionic order, which also admits acroteria, otherwise holds to no similar logic. The earliest examples are sculptured column drums, weight-bearing elements *par excellence*, and sculptured architraves are known already in the mid-Archaic period. The more canonical usages familiar from Classical Ionic (the sculptured frieze and pediment) evolve a little later, especially at Delphi, where the collocation of the two orders led to cross-influences.

There are distinct differences between freestanding and architectural sculpture. While votive and funerary statuary, after circa 600, is commonly in marble, Doric buildings on the mainland bear limestone sculptures until near the end of the century. Ionic architectural sculpture, which begins a little later than Doric, is traditionally in marble like the temples themselves. Roof decoration in Sicily and South Italy is often terracotta, reflecting a local tradition shared with native Italic cultures like the Etruscans, yet at quite an early date there are also limestone metopes. Marble is used there sparingly and late. One possible reason for the Doric/Ionic limestone/marble distinction is availability of resources, since the Ionic originates simultaneously in the Cyclades and Ionia, where supplies of marble were plentiful and quarrying had taken place already in the early Bronze Age. Mainland marble quarries came only to be used much later. However, while limestone architectural sculpture was dominant on the Athenian Acropolis in the mid-sixth century, votive statuary was regularly carved from marble, usually imported. The preference for limestone in the Doric may have been economic, given the scale and quantity of sculptures needed for a large Doric pediment, or it may have been visual, since the vivid colors of painted limestone would stand out more boldly from a distance than the muted hues created by using an **encaustic** technique on translucent marble. Or it may simply have been that the sculptures were at first considered an inseparable element of the fabric of the temple, so building and sculpture alike were made from the same stone.

Unlike a statue, which could normally be contemplated from every angle, architectural sculptures could only be seen from afar, from particular spots, and sometimes with restricted or obscured views. Moreover, each of the available fields for decoration – the square or rectangular metope, the triangular pediment, and the long ribbon-like frieze – presents its own challenges of composition. The scenes were most often multi-figural, so an inherent distinction between architectural sculpture and statuary is the impetus in the former to develop narrative. This, in turn, demands an explanation for choice of subject matter, and when there are different subjects on different parts of a building there is no resisting the temptation to uncover an iconographic "program" for the building, explicable in terms of its function, its location, and the circumstances of its construction.

Early Doric Pediments

The beginning of stone architectural sculpture connects logically with the beginning of monumental stone temple architecture, so it is no surprise that the earliest datable example of each occurs in the same place. While that place might seem a remote backwater of northwestern Greece, the island of Corcyra (modern Corfu) had a prominence in early Archaic times because of, not despite, its location. Eretrians, who in the Geometric era constituted the vanguard of mercantile activity and colonization both eastward and westward, settled on Corcyra already by the mid-eighth century, and the Corinthians founded their own colony there a generation later. Corcyra was (and remains today) an important stopping-off point for ships traversing the rough Ionian Sea to and from south Italy and points westward. Corinth had become the dominant mercantile polis during this era of colonization, and its ongoing rocky relationship with Corcyra reflects the island's continuing importance to Corinth's aspirations. Corinth is also widely thought to be responsible for the earliest developments in the construction of monumental colonnaded temples – an expertise they may well have brought with them, although some studies of the early architectural remains on the island stress that their affinities are closer to Sicilian practices than Corinthian, and connections with the Near East, either direct or via the Euboeans, can be argued as well.

As a crossroads between western Greeks and those of the east, Corcyra is not then an unlikely place to find the earliest plausibly datable stone peripteral temple with architectural sculpture. Dedicated to Artemis, this large building had stone metopes on its exterior, some fragments of which bear sculpture; the best preserved shows an armed warrior striding in profile, weapon aloft. Much more complete are the sculptures of the west pediment, over ten feet tall at the center; the east pediment seems to have been identical, but little remains. The composition, an early answer to the challenge of filling the low triangular field defined by a gabled roof, sets a precedent by combining an emblematic or **epiphanic** large central figure with flanking figures that both extend its meaning and imply narrative (Figure 4.1). What characterizes this particular arrangement is its ostensibly piecemeal structure, lacking any obvious coherence of subject or scale. It is as though each part of the pediment – center, wings, and corners – receives its own separate decorative treatment, much as a vase painter of this era would divide his irregularly shaped field into its component parts.

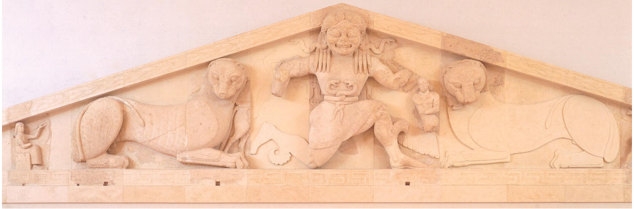

Figure 4.1 Corfu, Temple of Artemis. West Pediment. Limestone. Circa 570. H. (at center) 10′ 4″ (3.15 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti.

A **gorgon** takes center stage here; its "running gorgon" pose is the one of which the Delian "Nike" (Figure 2.4) represents a later development. Her snaky hair overlaps the shallow cornice and is thus centered on the (unseen) end of the longitudinal ridgepole, which supports and defines the peak of the roof. This recalls the terracotta plaques that often adorn and protect the exposed faces of wooden beams on Sicilian (and Etruscan) temples, the earliest of which seem to date to the beginning of the century. On other western temples, around the same time, larger terracotta **gorgoneia** (gorgon faces) are centered in, and fill, the pedimental space. While these are purely apotropaic, the designer of the Corcyra pediment, while not denying this function, extends the image, thereby creating a narrative. First, he adds a body, which in the flatness of its pose and intricate incision of its tunic, boots, and scaly wings recalls the craft of black-figure painting. Second, he adds figures that both establish its identity as Medusa and suggest well-known events. To the (viewer's) right is a large anthropomorphic figure and at left a winged horse. When beheaded by Perseus, Medusa produced, from the gore emanating from her severed neck, the giant Chrysaor and winged horse Pegasus. Similar scenes appear in Sicily on a contemporary revetment plaque from Syracuse and a later metope from Temple C at Selinus (Figure 4.7) that includes Perseus. At Corcyra, however, the story is related without the figure of the hero. By including in one image episodes that could not coexist in time (the offspring appear, but her neck is intact), the scene embodies what is termed "**synoptic**" or "compressed" narrative, which thus assumes (or projects) the existence of an initiate, culturally homogenous audience.

The spotted felines to either side of the central scene, which in form, technique, and subject recall (yet again) ripe Corinthian black figure, are well suited to the trapezoidal ground they fill. They anticipate the animal groups that recur on pedimental sculptures to the end of the century, but it is uncertain whether they are purely emblematic; they can be connected to the gorgon, and by extension to Artemis herself as *potnia theron*. The scale diminishes precipitously in the corners. At right a nude mature male with thunderbolt, Zeus, attacks a larger kneeling figure, a giant, while an even larger giant collapses in the corner. The grouping of these combatants is also well adapted by pose and scale to the trapezoidal area it fills, and the prone giant represents a scheme for filling a corner that will be repeatedly employed. At the opposite end is another scene of attack, this one against a seated draped male by a spear-wielding foe. The corner figure suggests a continuation of the Gigantomachy, although some see the seated man as Priam and this as a sack of Troy. As for an iconographic *program*, on a general level the themes are clear enough. Most obvious is the tradition of apotropaic devices represented by the central grouping, which references as well the Orientalizing adventurism of the Perseus myth, already popular in seventh-century painting. This dispatching of monsters evokes the era's growing concern with the identification and appeasement of the forces of order in an inimical world – the function, after all, of the temple itself. Apt too is the Gigantomachy, the quintessential conquest of **cosmos** over chaos that will be used in temple sculpture through Hellenistic times. For Artemis specifically, one can discern the *potnia theron* in the gorgon flanked by felines. As for style, one can only plug this work into an already fragile chronology based on marble statues and painted vases. From the latter must come much of the flatness of composition (despite rather high relief) and linear patterning, which reflects the incision of black figure. Comparanda in marble are applied with difficulty to limestone sculpture, since the latter material favors somewhat simpler and more linear treatment. A few features, such as the softness of Medusa's garment and the indication of torsion in Zeus's abdomen, seem advanced. In general, the work seems close to statuary of that not very well represented era between the earliest Attic work and the rise of the Samian school in the second quarter of the century; features of Cleobis and Biton (Figure 2.15), such as rounded shoulder locks and a certain plasticity in facial forms, also come to mind; circa 570 is probably not far off.

Not much later, a sequence of Doric architectural sculpture begins on the Athenian Acropolis, including pediments in limestone and marble on a variety of scales from monumental to tiny; some consist of nearly freestanding figures while others are in high or low relief. Most interesting are the larger figures, because they should belong to an important temple, or temples; there has been much disagreement on this point. There is one sixth-century temple foundation preserved on the Acropolis, partially underlying the High Classical temple of Athena Polias (Erechtheum). This must be the old Athena temple (*Archaios* ***Naos***); its late sixth-century marble pediment is discussed at the end of this chapter, but some maintain that it had an earlier program. There may also have been a second early temple south of this one, the foundations of which would be buried under the platform of the later Parthenon; a late Archaic inscription (on a reused metope ostensibly from the building) mentions a **hekatompedon** – "hundred-footer," the term later used for the Classical Parthenon's primary cella. The key question is whether the early limestone pediments represent an early Archaic phase of the *Archaios Naos*, rebuilt with marble sculptures half a century or so later, or whether they belong to the putative Building H (as this "Hekatompedon" or "proto-Parthenon" is now termed) to the south, as the majority view holds today. In either case, sometime before the middle of the century the Acropolis was given its first large stone temple to Athena, and it is tempting to associate it with the institution of the quadrennial Greater **Panathenaia**, traditionally dated to 566, in obvious emulation of and competition with the very ancient Olympic games and the only recently established agonistic festivals at Delphi (582), Isthmia (582), and Nemea (573). The style of the sculptures is consistent with a date before mid-century, contemporary with the early marble Acropolis dedications discussed in the previous chapter.

While the pieces of large limestone sculpture have been variously reassembled, the overall scheme is relatively clear. The more complete of the two large pediments centers on a group of a lion and a lioness feasting on a bull (Figure 4.2). In either corner is a composition that terminates toward the corner in one or another kind of serpentine or piscine body. While the composition has some of the discontinuity in subject seen in the Corcyra pediment, its designer has come up with a clever stratagem for maintaining a greater consistency of scale, while filling the restricted space at either side. The animal group is a common element, repeated on this temple's other pediment and still later on the marble pediment of the *Archaios Naos*. Near Eastern in origin, it may have had some local significance and, like the Gorgon at Corcyra, apotropaic power. A lion/bull attack occurs frequently as a simile in literature (more than two dozen time in the *Iliad* alone) and metaphorically on Attic black-figure vases, sometimes even juxtaposed with Homeric combat. All lions turn to face, displaying the frontality that characterizes the center of pedimental compositions and emphasizes the epiphanic quality of the temple's façade. Similarly posed are several marble felines carved in the round, but very flat, and dowelled originally to a stone background. They resemble the Corcyra felines and are similarly Corinthianizing; their location has been postulated practically everywhere on this temple (metope, frieze, acroteria, anta crown).

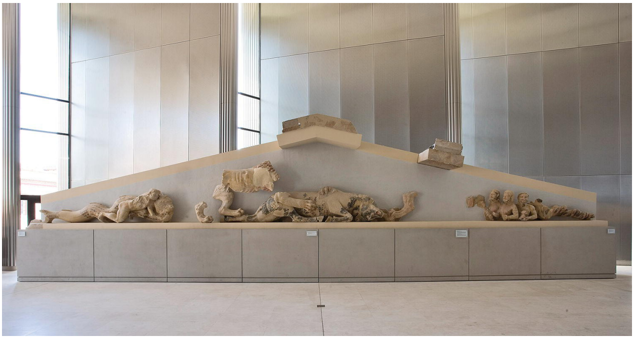

Figure 4.2 Athens, Acropolis. Large limestone pediment, entire. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Circa 560–550. H. (at center) 6′ 11″ (2.1 m).

Source: Athens, Acropolis Museum.

The male figure in the group to the viewer's left is surely Heracles, wrestling with a fish-tailed creature, likely Nereus, who is said to have contested with the hero. The scene to the right is obscure. Three winged bearded (its nickname is "Bluebeard") male torsos merge into intertwining snaky bodies that are striped, not scaly like Nereus'. Each of the three torsos holds an attribute – water, grain, and a bird. Traces of a figure facing the beast are barely detectible, but it its presence is in any case compositionally necessary. Zeus fighting Typhon is one possibility, although that monster should have multiple heads and snaky tails, not torsos. More important, tradition holds Typhon to be the largest, fiercest, and deadliest of monsters, while this figure is conspicuously non-threatening. Similar objections arise if seen as Heracles fighting tripled-bodied Geryon, Indeed, neither flanking group is especially violent; Heracles is simply wresting information from Nereus; neither is harmed, and it may be friendly, if spirited, contest that is the subject rather than the vanquishing of monsters. If so, perhaps its juxtaposition with the brutality of the animal group deliberately contrasts bestial versus more civilized forms of **eris** (struggle or conflict), as befits the foundation of an agonistic festival.

As for the three aspects of "Bluebeard," that they stand in some way for the three realms (and, in some philosophical accounts, elements) of earth, air, and sea is one possible inference. These could also correspond to three political parties of Athens – the peoples of the plain, the coast, and the hills, their braided tails reflecting both their unification and Athenian claims to be **autochthonous**, that is, indigenous or earth-born, like the similarly snaky ancient kings Erechtheus and Cecrops. A desire for productive political competition in post-Solonian Athens would fit in with the humanely agonistic reading suggested above. Pisistratus' influence on the pediment has been suggested, the Bluebeard representing the tyrant's claim to have united the populace into a single **demos** and the contest with Nereus referencing his naval victory over Megara, an exploit that first brought him **kleos**. However, the sculptures are almost certainly earlier than Pisistratus' final accession (546), before which he is unlikely to have had the influence to bring such a pointedly political program about, if in fact he ever could have. The connection with the tyrant is now largely rejected, but such is the desire to see temple sculptures as metaphors for specific historical events.

Compositionally, these flanking groups complement the frontality of the center. The head of the innermost Bluebeard figure looks laterally toward the center, the next turns somewhat outward, and the third is frontal; this arrangement moves the viewer's eye from the center to the corner (to continue along the snaky tails), but also brings it back again. Nereus seems also to face frontally, in contrast with the profile Heracles. The design unifies the composition in the mind's eye by relating the center and wings in a formal way, marking a distinct improvement on the arrangement at Corcyra. The figures, in very high relief, are brightly painted and would have stood out boldly against the plain background. The style is not unlike that at Corcyra, with sharply defined features and much linear patterning, but it is somewhat more advanced. The eyes of the Bluebeard are strikingly rounded and sensitively rendered, as is the anatomy of the lions and bull. There is some of the stylistic discrepancy of the Moschophoros and, again, a stylistic "feel" strikingly reminiscent of Cleobis and Biton. One wonders again if the linearity is a feature of limestone sculpture, and if the Argive and Attic sculptors of these two works had trained in the softer material before putting chisel to marble.

The style of the smaller pediments is essentially similar, although they are lesser works and possibly a little later. They should pertain to other buildings, on the scale of treasuries, since fragments of such structures do exist. They were surely not treasuries in the sense that they exist (see below) at Panhellenic sanctuaries, since the latter were civic dedications by individual *poleis*, which would have no place on the Acropolis. They may have been especially opulent, treasury-like family dedications and/or small shrines, perhaps connected with the many sacred spots on the Acropolis and marking events from the era of Athens' founding gods and kings. Four of these are well enough preserved to evaluate: two were in low relief, and two made up of small freestanding figures in front of a tympanum with relief background, like a dollhouse or diorama. Three of the four show scenes with Heracles, like the pediment of the large limestone temple. One shows the introduction of this hero to divine status on Olympus, seen again as a reference to Pisistratus, one of whose advents into Athens, Herodotus tells us, dramatically re-enacted this famous myth (Figure 4.3). The fourth is more obscure. Long seen as the ambush of Troilos, the olive tree incised on the background supports an interpretation as an episode from Athens' ancient regal era, perhaps representing the sanctuary of the deified princess Pandrosus, where the sacred tree grew, consistent with the possible function of these little **naiskoi** as local shrines. These again invoke the tradition that the Athenians were **autochthonous**, unlike the many Greeks who were thought to have been displaced by the invasions and migrations of the Dark Age. This idea, as shall be seen, takes center stage during the golden age of Athens a century later.

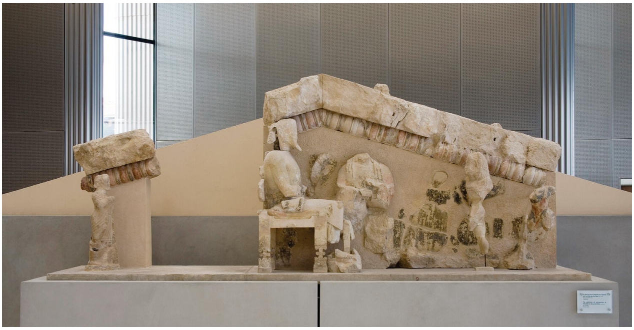

Figure 4.3 Athens, Acropolis. Introduction Pediment. Limestone. Athens, Acropolis Museum 9. Circa 550. H. 3′ 1″ (0.94 m).

Source: Athens, Acropolis Museum.

Metopes

Although the early Acropolis temple had at least some marble metopes, perhaps with painted ornament, there is no evidence that any of them bore figural sculpture. In fact, aside from the fragments from Corcyra, the only Archaic sculptured metopes known from the Greek mainland are found at Delphi, and from the sixth century there is but one set. Found in the substructure of the fifth-century Sicyonian Treasury, it is assumed that these limestone metopes belonged to an earlier structure, also erected by Sicyon and restored as a rectangular **monopteros** and thus probably not a treasury. These metopes are considerably wider than was conventional, perhaps reflecting wide **intercolumniations** for a building meant to house and showcase a prominent dedication; in one case at least a single scene (of the Argo with the Dioscuri and Orpheus) is continued in the adjacent metope, across the intervening triglyph. The iconographic relationships among the preserved scenes are not obvious; also included are the Calydonian Boar, the abduction of Europa, and the Dioscuri, again, stealing cattle with their cousins Idas and Lynceus. The last story is not often depicted in Greek art, but painted labels secure the identification. A single fragment is seen as Helle on the Golden Ram.

The ostensible Sicyonian connection invites attempts to connect the program with the famous tyrant Cleisthenes, which is possible if we choose the latest date for his life and the earliest date for the metopes. He certainly was a prominent person at Delphi, having taken an active part in the first Sacred War near the beginning of the century, and having won the chariot race in the first reorganized Pythian Games of 582. That date is too early for the metopes, which belong around 560 or later, but he might have been honored by his successor Aeschines, of whom we know little except that he was driven from power, or by the Athenian **Alcmaeonids** (Cleisthenes was also the father in-law-of Megacles and thus grandfather of the famous Athenian Cleisthenes), who were also influential at Delphi. As for an iconographic connection with Sicyonian Cleisthenes, the perceived non- or anti-Homeric selections, in keeping with Cleisthenic anti-Argive sentiment, is, in the end, an *argumentum ex silentio*. Since the identity and function of the building are unproven, any iconographic program is elusive; there has even been proposed a western Greek origin on the basis of the greater popularity in that region of both sculptured metopes and the cult of the Dioscuri.

Figural compositions are both innovative and various. In contrast to the two complex Dioscuri scenes, the boar metope has a single figure (the scene doubtless continued on adjacent slabs), and the two with women riding animals have but two each. The better preserved of these, Europa (Figure 4.4), is dressed in a stiff foldless tunic, with incised ornament, that nonetheless manages to reveal legs beneath the skirt; her pose, bracing herself for her risky ride, is especially effective. The anatomy of the bull is reminiscent of the Moschophoros and the pedimental bulls of the Acropolis temple. The cattle-rustling scene is intricately worked, like the Argo scene, and through its precise rendering of receding planes of relief betrays a similar pictorialism (Figure 4.5). Both scenes juxtapose frontal with lateral views; the Argonauts versus the ship on the one, the heads of the cattle versus their and their abductors' figures on the other. It is as though the compositions were designed to confront and arrest the viewer, who would thus pause while simultaneously being drawn from left to right, from panel to panel.

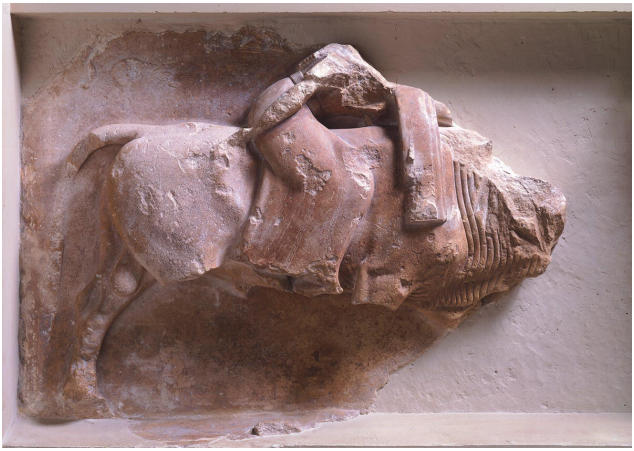

Figure 4.4 Delphi, Sicyonian Treasury. Metope with Europa on the bull. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Limestone. Circa 560–

550. H. (restored) 2′ 1″ (0.63 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

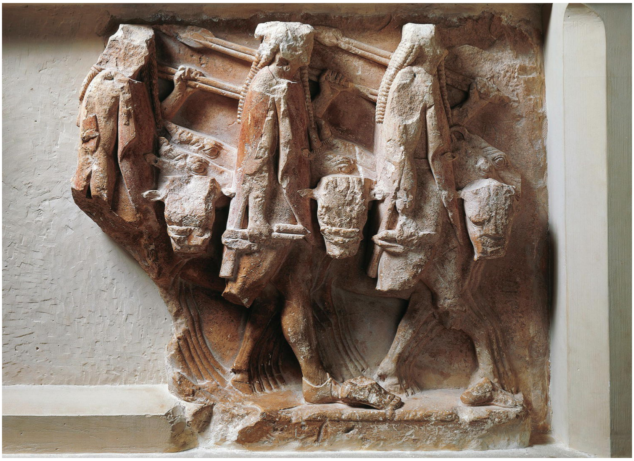

Figure 4.5 Delphi, Sicyonian Treasury. Metope with Dioscuri and Sons of Aphereus stealing cattle. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Limestone Circa 560–550. H. (restored) 2′ 1″ (0.63 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

The manipulation of frontal figures is more evident still in Sicilian metopes. The most complete series comes from Selinus on the southwest coast, at the fringes of Greek Sicily, where an astounding number of temples were perched atop a series of ridges surrounding the city. Stylistic dating is even more tenuous here, but the earliest panels may be at least as early as those at Delphi. These come from an unknown temple (Y); the six extant metopes are stylistically comparable but differences in framing and figural style could indicate two different buildings or two different locations on the same building. Again, the myths represented do not connect especially well, although two might depict Demeter and Kore. The other four show Europa again, Apollo with Leto and Artemis, Heracles (with the Cretan bull?), and a solitary, rather Etruscan-looking sphinx. Europa rides along the waves (indicated by dolphins) somewhat more blithely than on the Sicyonian metope, as though she knows all will be well, while the bull/god turns sharply to face the viewer (Figure 4.6). The composition and style are distinctly different from what is seen at Delphi. The figures are very flat and their surfaces are worked with elaborate patterns of linear incision. Yet, despite the lack of three-dimensionality there is great complexity in the layering of relief planes, and the central pleat on the woman's skirt terminates in a kind of omega fold, which was just then appearing in mainland sculpture, if the date around mid-century is correct; the most recent study dates both groups between 550 and 540.

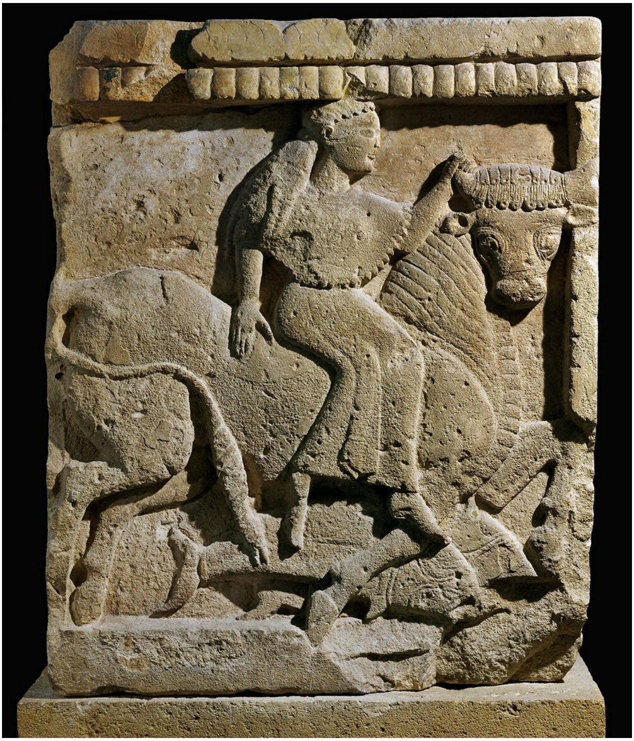

Figure 4.6 Selinus, Temple Y. Metope with Europa on the bull. Palermo Museum. Limestone. Circa 560–540? H. 2′ 9″ (0.84 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

A second set of metopes, nearly twice as large, adorned the primary façade of Temple C (probably to Apollo), which is also dated circa 550. The superstructure of this temple, in contrast, is quite well preserved, and many of the metope fragments were found where they fell from their original position on the east façade. These represent another smorgasbord of myths – Perseus, Heracles, a pair of frontal chariots, perhaps an Orestes slaying his mother – that suggests no obvious program. The style is quite different from that of the other group. The figures are in higher relief and more rounded. The chariot scenes especially are cut very deeply. Yet the compositions are spatially restricted, the background and foreground planes impermeable. The frontality of the Y metopes is even more fully emphasized here, where nearly every figure in every metope, whether positioned frontally or in profile, faces the viewer (Figure 4.7). This again invites the viewer to pause and contemplate, and it emphasizes the staccato quality of the alternating triglyphs and metopes, reinforcing the structure of the temple. The facial and anatomical features also seem earlier in style than contemporary mainland work. Faces are broad and unmodeled, eyes are wide, flat, and sharply cut, and the massive musculature of Heracles, Perseus, and the Gorgon is rendered with abstract pattern. However, there are anomalies. In the Medusa metope the drapery on Perseus and Athena shows intricate zigzag and swallowtail fold patterns that ordinarily appear only a generation later. It may be that the temple is dated too early and the style is archaizing or displays "provincial lag," or the metopes were not added until later (although they needed to be in place before the roof). Another theory holds that the drapery was recut some years after the temple was completed. Most recently, the discrepancy has been explained by assuming a long period of construction; most of the metopes would date circa 540–530, but the Perseus metope would have been finished and the Orestes metope carved around 510. There is some significance in the date. If the C temple metopes are original to a temple from circa 550, the stylistically earlier Y series should be substantially older than those from the Sicyonian Treasury foundations, thus supporting the theory of a western origin for the practice. If the later dates are accepted, then the mainland pieces have priority. The controversy underscores a persisting challenge in evaluating the sculptures of western Greece according to a scheme constructed from works carved farther east. Western Greece clearly had its own artistic styles, which owed almost as much to Italic traditions as to those of the Greeks themselves – a regional school, as it were, just as there was on the other side of the Mediterranean.

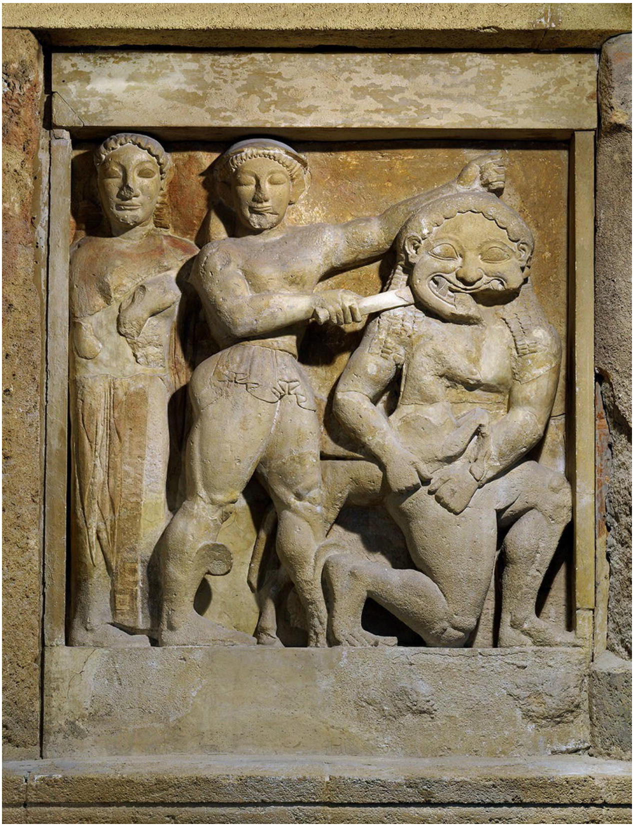

Figure 4.7 Selinus, Temple C. Metope with Perseus and Medusa. Palermo Museum. Limestone. Circa 550–520? H. 4′ 10″ (1.47 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

Ionia, Delphi, and Athens: The Shift to Marble

Around mid-century, contemporary with the first large temple and marble votive statuary on the Acropolis, the three most powerful *poleis* of east Greece – Samos, Ephesus, and Miletos – competed for prestige by constructing astoundingly large and complex marble temples. These were all in the Ionic order, which had by then emerged, like marble statuary, in the Cyclades. The first of the three temples was begun at Samos around 570–560. The temple at Ephesus was begun before mid-century and the Milesians started their temple at Didyma just afterward; a decade or so later the relatively new Samian Heraeum was replaced under the tyrant Polycrates with a larger temple that was, like those at Ephesus and Didyma, built entirely in marble. By this time the east Greek cities had come under Persian authority, the building of new colossal temples there ceased, and work lingered on for decades.

All three were of comparable scale, with Polycrates' being the largest at 181 × 356 feet; it would (within a yard) cover an entire (American) football field, including the end zones and coaches' boxes on the sidelines. Each of the three is **dipteral** (having a double peristyle) with facades eight, nine, or ten columns across. These towering forests of columns were likely suggested by Egyptian examples and may themselves have inspired the great colonnaded audience halls at the palaces of the Great King in Persia, where, it is certain, Asiatic Greek craftsmen were working. Such impressive buildings would not have needed narrative sculpture in order to overwhelm the viewer, but they were as ornate as they were colossal, in keeping with the nature of the Ionic order. The uses of sculpture here were entirely different, however, than on the Doric buildings. There were no metopes, and pedimental sculpture would have been impossibly gigantic if meant to fill the gable, if the buildings even were gabled, or roofed. Many of the architectural elements were carved with vegetal and abstract ornament, but figural subjects also exist. The remains from all three sites are fragmentary, if numerous, and reconstructions are not secure. Ephesus and Didyma are best represented. Both preserve sculptured column drums with rows of draped female figures; the procession theme, distinctly Near Eastern, is found at other Ionian temples, and it was probably from here that it came to be introduced to the mainland. Croesus of Lydia is said to have paid for such drums at Ephesus, indicating a date before 546, when his armies fell to Cyrus of Persia. The figural style, better preserved at Didyma, is strikingly close to that of Ionian statuary, with narrow, sharply incised eyes and soft rounded cheeks (Figure 4.8). An odd sculptured architrave here shows at its corner an apotropaic gorgon garbed in the typical Cycladic himation of the now Panhellenic style; it is thus not apt to be much earlier than around 530. The eastern Greeks built a few smaller temples after this time, including a Doric anomaly at Assos with both sculptured architrave and metopes, but it would be centuries before anything else monumental was attempted here again.

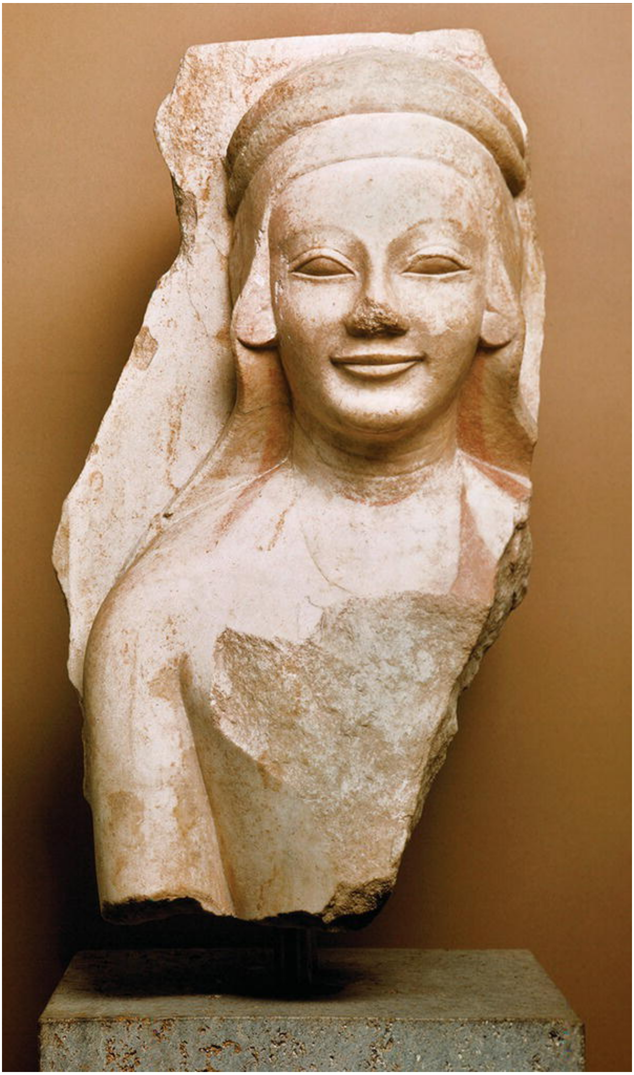

Figure 4.8 Didyma, Temple of Apollo. Marble sculptured column drum fragment. Berlin, Pergamum Museum. Circa 540–530. H. 11″ (0.27 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence/bpk, Bildagentur fuer Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin.

For the beginnings of Ionic architectural sculpture on the mainland, we must turn to Panhellenic Delphi, where island influences were strong. Following the burning of the Apollo Temple in 548, a new treasury was built by Knidos, a Dorian polis along the coast of Caria. Alleged to be the first marble building in the mainland, its primary sculptural remains consist of two fragmentary caryatids, perhaps the first examples of that form, as well as smaller fragments of friezes and pediments. The well-preserved “ex-Cnidian” caryatid head was once associated with this treasury, as its name suggests, but it is now believed to document the existence of a second treasury around this time with sculptures in an Ionian/Cycladic style. While the plain Ionic frieze occurs on earlier Cycladic buildings, the first known sculptured friezes are those at Delphi, and pedimental sculpture also makes its first appearance on Ionic structures in this sanctuary. Such architectural developments were likely influenced by the Panhellenic nature of the sanctuary, where buildings in both orders were erected side by side, reflecting the parallel developments in sculpture outlined above.

The most complete example is the Treasury of the Siphnians, a monument central to our understanding of Archaic art, not only because it is datable (530–525) and well preserved, but also because it included every form of architectural sculpture possible on an Ionic building. We have already discussed the caryatids as chronological touchstones in the development of the Cycladic style of korai. The building also preserves one pediment almost entire, two friezes largely extant and portions of two others, acroteria, and an elaborate program of sculptured moldings. The subject matter of some of the sculptures is straightforward, in certain cases even secured by painted labels; it is more tempting than ever to seek an iconographic program.

Pediments tend to dominate such programs by priority of position and scale. Only the east (at the back, but the more conspicuous view) is preserved, and its story relates directly to the sanctuary (Figure 4.9). Heracles was denied access to the Delphic oracle because of his recent murder of Iphitus, the son of Eurytus. He attempted to abduct Apollo’s tripod, the god tried to stop him, and

Zeus intervened to resolve the struggle between his sons. Heracles, dressed in a chitoniskos, strides to the viewer's right with the upper part of the tripod on his shoulders; he looks back toward a similarly garbed Apollo, who steps forward grasping a tripod leg in each hand. Zeus stands towering over them in the center of the pedimental triangle; his legs also face right, but his torso is frontal and he looks to the left, back towards Apollo, whose wrist he holds in his right fist. He thus both centers the composition and forms a visual transition between the two wings of the pediment. To the right of Heracles stands a female, who should be Athena but is oddly small, shod like Zeus, and faced away from center; a male figure in cuirass comes next. Behind Apollo, touching his arm, is a female, Artemis no doubt; behind her two draped figures, one female and the other probably male, again face the corner of the pediment. Chariot teams, both facing right, come next and more figures fill each corner, a reclining figure (charioteer?) at left and another striding warrior at right. It is not certain if or how the corner figures connect to the center. The thematic connection to Delphi here is clear enough; those who favor strict historical readings see an allusion to the first Sacred War, which may explain the armed figures, and warfare is surely the subject of the frieze below.

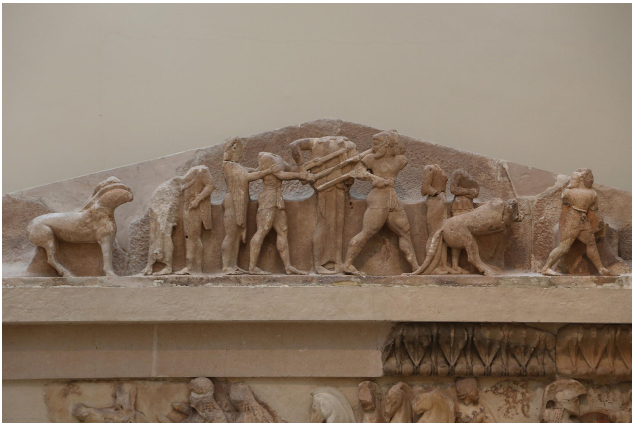

Figure 4.9 Delphi, Siphnian Treasury. East Pediment and Frieze. Marble. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Circa 525. H. (of pediment) 2′ 9″ (0.74 m); (of frieze) 2′ 1″ (0.64 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

Most figures stand flat footed, although Heracles lifts the heel of his trailing foot. Folds and anatomical renderings resemble those of the frieze, especially the East Frieze below and the North Frieze, both of which we know (from an inscription on the north side) to have been the work of one sculptor, called today "Master B." We see here, perhaps for the first time, a growing softness and plasticity in the rendering of formalistic fold patterns that heretofore were more repetitive and sharply cut. The old Archaic smile persists, but eyelids are slightly undercut as the eye begins to take its form as an orb within its socket. The figures themselves are rounded and project boldly from the background; some are arranged so as to inhabit, and thus create the illusion of, three-dimensional space. This marks the beginning of a process that will result in spatially experimental work such as the kouros base discussed in the previous chapter. The West and South Friezes also display a stylistic unity, personified as "Master A" (Figure 4.10). The carving is equally expert, especially adept at complex and expressive linear patterning. Yet the frontal plane of the relief is flatter, and the angle between the frontal and lateral surfaces of each figure is sharply angled rather than rounded. The figural renderings depend more on expressive outlines, and the overall effect is more two dimensional. By analogy with vase-painting, Master A is compared with the black-figure of the most accomplished masters, Master B with the early red-figure painters, whose work is dated by this very comparison. The one was perhaps an older contemporary of the other. Alternatively, Master A has been called more Ionian, Master B more Cycladic/Attic. Thus the transition between them can be seen to illustrate well the main development of the period – a movement toward greater naturalism resulting from cross-influences among the artistic traditions of the various regions of Archaic Greece.

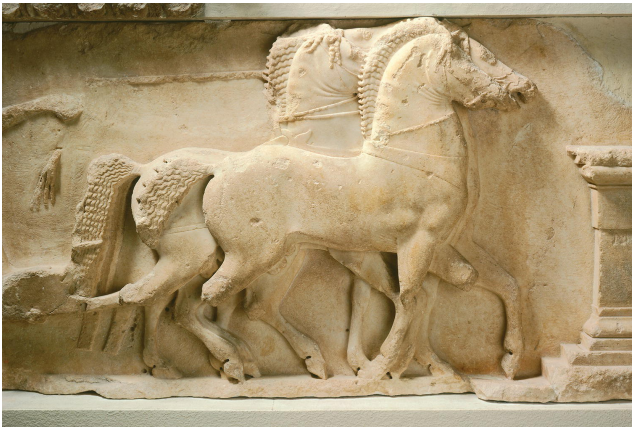

Figure 4.10 Delphi, Siphnian Treasury. South Frieze. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 525. H. 2′ 1″ (0.64 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah.

Master B’s East Frieze combines two compositionally separate but thematically related scenes. At right, according to faintly preserved painted inscriptions, heroic warriors (Achilles and Memnon) fight over the body of a fallen comrade/foe (Antilochos). At left, among a gathering of seated deities engaged in animated conversation, Zeus weighs souls to determine the outcome of the adjacent struggle. A recent suggestion, which views the treasury’s entire program as reflective of the economic and political realities of Siphnos, sees in this scene a metaphor for the weighing out and distribution of metals, since we know that the island’s wealth was based in its silver and gold mines. At its most basic level of interpretation, however, the East Frieze reprises the main theme of the more specifically Delphic East Pediment – the importance of divine justice, in the person of Zeus himself, in the resolution of conflict, punishment of hubris, and establishment of order. It was, of course, this dynamic between the necessity (even desirability) of conflict and the order that can only be established through its resolution that characterized the particularly Greek world view eloquently summarized by Heraclitus: “*dike eris*” (“strife is justice”). This theme is extended through the north frieze, which shows a Gigantomachy – the episode through which the Olympians established a divine order out of the previously chaotic world of giants and an etiology for the episodes of the east. The west and south friezes are less well preserved and their subjects much more obscure, but one expects a similar focus on complementary themes of both universal and local significance.

The replacement of the Apollo temple at Delphi took decades, and its completion cannot predate by much the fall of the Athenian tyranny in 510, since the final stage, at least, was funded by the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes (see box in Chapter 3) at some point after 513. His objective was to gain the assistance of the oracle in convincing the Spartans to expel the tyrant Hippias; his success was ensured by his generosity, since he contracted to finish the east façade in the same limestone as the rest of the temple but then had it built from more expensive island marble. Thus there remain two sets of acroteria and pedimental sculptures in different materials and perhaps of different dates, although comparisons are difficult because of the contrasting qualities of the two materials. Some have put the limestone sculptures early, at or before 520; others have noted the stylistic, compositional, and thematic similarities between the pediments and, more plausibly, assigned the entire program to the years around 510.

For the first time we have both programs of pedimental sculpture sufficiently well preserved to allow comparison and interpretation as a unit (Figures 4.11 and 4.12). Although each centers on a frontal chariot, the west, a Gigantomachy, presents the height of the action with appropriately posed combatants while the more static east is largely composed of quietly standing figures, evoking the votive kouroi and korai of a sanctuary. The subject is thought to be the arrival of Apollo from Delos at Delphi with the flanking figures representing divine or heroic attendants to his epiphany. The contrast in mood between the two pediments is repeated often on later temples, as is the increasingly successful unification of the triangular field through subject, scale, and composition.

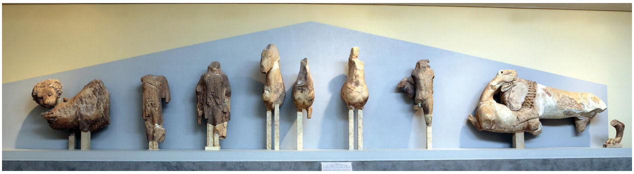

Figure 4.11 Delphi, Temple of Apollo. East Pediment. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 510. H. (restored) 7′ 7″

(2.3 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

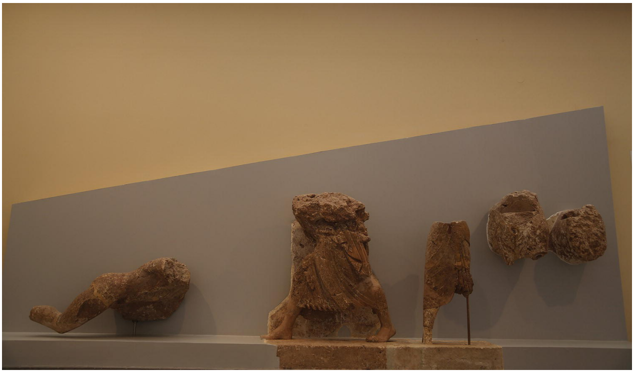

Figure 4.12 Delphi, Temple of Apollo. West Pediment. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Limestone. Circa 510. H. (restored) 7′ 7″ (2.3 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

Paid for by Athenians, the pediment may well have had an Athenian master: Antenor has often been proposed; the stylistic affinities between his Acropolis Kore 681 and the pedimental korai are compelling. Both are marked by the unusual mannerism of "pipe organ" himation pleats, although there are also stylistic differences that result from difference of date (the kore is earlier) and modes of viewing. Its impact on Athenians was unmistakable. It is the only work of architectural sculpture described for us in Classical literature (Euripides' *Ion*), in which pilgrims to Delphi give an account of its west façade, providing both a rare account of how contemporaries viewed and read such works and the information that the temple originally had decorated metopes, now lost. It has also been suggested that Aeschylus' account in the *Eumenides* of Apollo's arrival at Delphi might be connected with the presentation on the east pediment. The program as a whole seems to reflect Athens' promotion of itself as the leader of a Pan-Ionian ethnos, a role that had already been espoused by Pisistratus and that will take on unprecedented significance, with unanticipated consequences, at the beginning of the following century.

At Athens, the temple of Athena Polias (*Archaios Naos*) was either partially or entirely rebuilt around this time and provided with its own marble sculptures. Its exterior metopes were blank, but it seems to have had a procession frieze above its porches – an early version of an Ionic feature famously included on one or both of the two Parthenons of the fifth century. The east pediment retains a group of a lion and deer, as at Delphi. At west was a better-preserved Gigantomachy, a subject that by now appears entirely conventional in architectural sculpture but which does have a special connection to the temple that housed the ancient statue of Athena Polias. This was the image that was presented the new peplos at the culmination of the Panathenaia – that most significant of Athenian festivals, which, it is argued, commemorated not Athena's birth but her victory in the Gigantomachy, the very scene woven into the garment itself.

The entire composition is not known certainly, but a central frontal chariot is postulated, which makes the Athens pediment a virtual quote of that at Delphi. The style seems more advanced than that of either Delphi pediment, although the sharply differing materials in the one case, and subjects and poses in the other, might exaggerate the distinction (Figure 4.13). Yet, the boldly striding Athena does anticipate developments of the early fifth century, as she raises the heel of her trailing foot while the leg with which she strides forward flexes to receive her weight. Her still Archaic drapery is rendered in rounded, thick plastic forms; her face bears only the hint of a smile, and the flesh surrounding it is carved with an unprecedented softness; her eyes are now essentially spherical, contained within rather than mapped onto the cranial structure (Figure 4.14). The opposing giant who collapses twisting at her feet shows a rendering of anatomy that is highly experimental, if not entirely successful. The sculptor here is likely to have been inspired by red-figure painters, whose devices we see also in the kouros base discussed in the previous chapter.

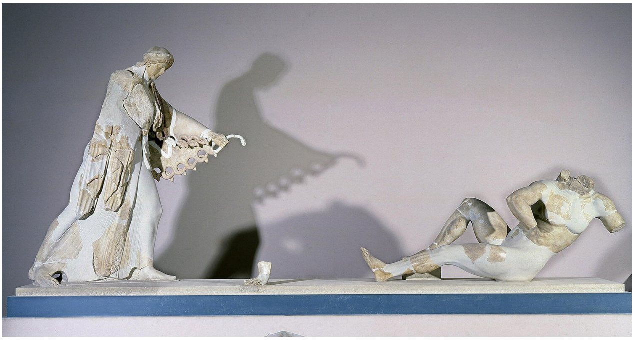

Figure 4.13 Athens, Acropolis. Old Athena Temple. Gigantomachy Pediment. Marble. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Circa 510–500. H. (at center) 9′ 3″ (2.89 m).

Source: Athens, Acropolis Museum.

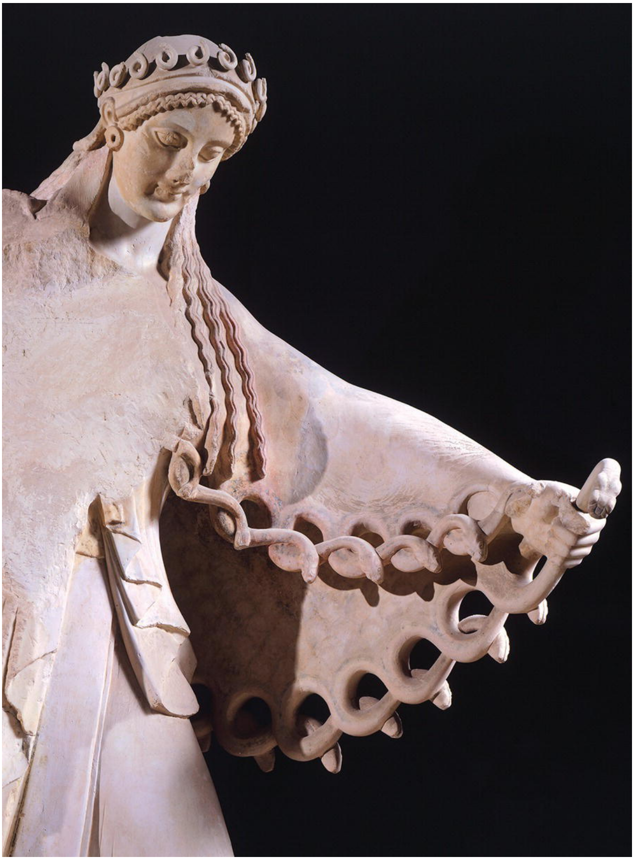

Figure 4.14 Athens, Acropolis. Old Athena Temple. Gigantomachy Pediment. Athena. Marble. Athens, Acropolis Museum Circa 510–500. H. 6′ 7″ (2.0 m).

Source: © 2015. De Agostini Picture Library/Scala, Florence.

Incorporating the defining artistic trends of the later sixth century – the move to marble, the blending of regional styles, and the incipient abandonment of two-dimensionality – these pediments were surely the work of the young Athenian democracy, itself a culmination of Archaic developments in the socio-political sphere. They cannot in any case date much before 500, on the eve of events that would change Athens, and art, forever.

Box The Greek Architectural Orders and Vitruvius

Attempts to explain the origin of the Greek architectural orders (Figure 4.15) have traditionally focused on two main questions. (1) Do the characteristic forms of the orders derive from similar forms used in earlier buildings in different materials (i.e., wood and mud brick)? (2) What is the relationship between these forms and those used in the architecture (or other arts) of Egypt or the Near East? In the Doric order, it is the frieze especially that invites the search for a wooden prototype; the triglyphs resemble articulated beam ends, and the metopes mark spaces in between; the regulae below and the mutules above each triglyph bear short cylindrical features – guttae – that resemble pegs used in carpentry. The alignment of each triglyph atop the center of a column or the midpoint of the architrave block atop each pair of columns shows that they are not simply decorative but relate directly to the structure of the building. Similarly, the distinctively Ionic dentil course is compared to a line of thin wooden supports. As for influences, the elaborate vegetal devices of moldings and Ionic capitals, such as palmettes and leaf patterns, recall

Oriental and Orientalizing ornament, and the fluting of columns resembles faceted "proto-Doric" Egyptian supports. The current consensus, however, holds that both orders were designed in Greece specifically for stone architecture, and, while some elements were surely inspired by the Orientalizing milieu of the time, or by wooden architecture, it is futile to seek out a single source for either order in another land or another material.

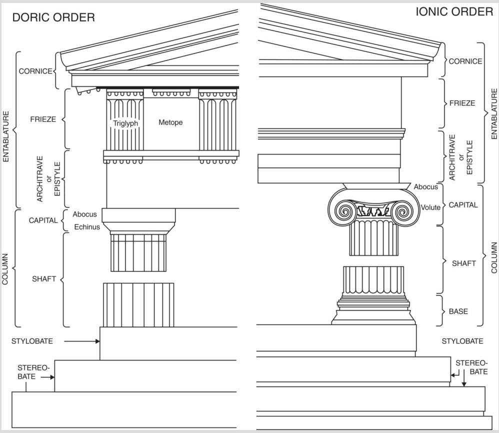
DORIC ORDER
CORNICE
FRIEZE
Triglyph
Metope
ENTABLATURE
ARCHITRAVE or EPISTYLE
CAPITAL
Abocus
Echinus
COLUMN
SHAFT
STYLOBATE
STEREO-BATE
IONIC ORDER
CORNICE
FRIEZE
ENTABLATURE
ARCHITRAVE or EPISTYLE
Abocus
Volute
CAPITAL
SHAFT
COLUMN
BASE
STYLOBATE
STEREO-BATE

Figure 4.15 Diagram of Doric and Ionic Orders.

These questions are old ones. Of the several technical treatises written by ancient architects, beginning already in the Archaic period, only Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture*, composed in the early Roman Empire, has come down to us, although we know he had access to the others. In his account of the architectural orders, he states that early stone structures derived the forms of their elements from wooden construction. The origins of both orders he traces to the time of the Ionian migration, or about four or five hundred years before either was actually used. When the newly arrived settlers decided to erect a temple to Panionian Apollo, its general forms were derived from practices they remembered from the mainland, specifically Dorian Achaia, and thus they named the style Doric. The proportions that give this order its beauty and strength, he says, the Ionians themselves derived from the male human figure. Next they built a temple to the goddess

Diana (Artemis) at Ephesus, and for this they chose to use slenderer proportions and more intricate adornment, with fluted columns like drapery folds and capitals with volutes “hanging down on each side like curly ringlets.” Vitruvius thus records the “gendering” of the orders, from which it is often inferred, erroneously, that the Ionic was conventionally used for temples to goddesses and the Doric for gods.

Vitruvius’ account does, however, capture the difference between the two orders. The Doric is heavy, solid, and severe in form. The Ionic is soaring, graceful, and ornamental. The Doric originates in the Greek mainland and the Ionic order was invented in the east (first in the Cyclades). For the Archaic period, at least, this geographical connection largely persists, although already in the sixth century it is breaking down, as evidenced by the Doric temple at Assos and the Ionic elements on some late Archaic Doric temples of the Athenian Acropolis and in the Greek West. Such mixing becomes regular in the Classical era and is later embraced by the Romans. It is worth noting, therefore, that Vitruvius terms each order a *genus* rather than an *ordo*, suggesting a less rigid distinction than our own term “order” implies.

5

The Change to Classical: Democratic Athens and the Persian Conflict (circa 500–460)

At the end of the sixth century new approaches to rendering the human form arose in Greek art. The inherited types of kouros and kore persisted, but their restrictions were challenged by such animated figures as Aristodicus (Figure 3.8). In details of anatomy and drapery, artists modified Archaic patterns by a softening of edges and angles. Old habits die hard, and in the ancient world a tradition of formal, and formalized, representation was often maintained over centuries, even millennia. In Greece, however, speculation concerning fluctuations in individual perception vied with this traditional reliance on the stability of simplified forms; the resulting struggle produced very new ways of rendering figures in space. Soon the entire Archaic apparatus of schematic poses and abstract linear patterns was abandoned, and a new style, the "Classical," emerged.

The increasing availability of contextual information in the later sixth century picks up its pace as we move into the fifth. For his account of the Persian Wars Herodotus had access to eyewitnesses, even though, by the time of his writing, the story had taken on legendary qualities. One such eyewitness was the tragedian Aeschylus, who fought at both Marathon and Salamis and offered a fictionalized account in his *Persians*, presented in 472. For this period we also have Thucydides' *Pentekontaetia*, or *Fifty Years*, his preface linking the end of Herodotus' history to the beginning of his own in the late 430s. Especially compelling is the coordination between the sequence of major events for the period 510–470 (the establishment of democracy in Athens, the three stages of the Persian conflict, and the resultant emergence of Athens as an expansionist power in the Mediterranean) and the contemporaneous sequence of stylistic changes detectible in art. To be more specific, an increasingly subjective treatment of the viewer's experience corresponds precisely to the establishment of rudimentary democratic institutions in Athens. The ostensibly revolutionary rejection of the formalized, fundamentally oriental Archaic style for the simpler and more severe Classical corresponds equally well with the sudden and violent destruction of Athens and the subsequent, improbable defeat of the Persian king by a newly self-aware and briefly united collection of *poleis* from across the Greek-speaking world. The change from Archaic to Classical is the defining microcosm of the broader stylistic development traceable in Greek art from its Geometric origins to its Hellenistic dissolution, as both ancients and moderns have construed it. It is no wonder then that the most enduring of questions in the study of Greek art is whether, and if so how, the artistic developments of these years are related to the historical. Any possible answer must be sought in issues of characterization, contemporaneity, and causality, beginning with three buildings that can be connected directly with events of the time.

Architectural Sculpture

Herodotus gives his story of the Persian Wars a sense of inevitability by tracing East–West enmity to much earlier times, but he identifies the immediate cause as the interference of Athens and Eretria in the ill-fated uprising of Ionian cities incited by the Milesian adventurer Aristagoras. Persuaded by him, the two cities sent small forces to assist their Ionian brethren (25 ships in total) and in 498 accompanied them in their offensive against Sardis, the seat of the Persian **satrap** (local governor). Soon after they burned Sardis, the Greek force was defeated, and the troops from Attica and Euboea returned home. Needless to say, the revolt was soon crushed; in 494 Miletos was sacked, its nearby Apollo sanctuary at Didyma burned. The tragedy was soon dramatized at Athens by the playwright Phrynicus, who was famously fined and his work banned for upsetting the audience excessively. This set the stage for further panic when Darius turned his attention to revenge for the transgressions of Athens and Eretria. At first he sent a force to secure and expand his holdings in Thrace and Macedonia, intending to move south from there against the offending Greek poleis, but the plan was thwarted when much of the accompanying fleet perished in a storm. Two years later, in 490, a renewed Persian force crossed the Cyclades directly to Euboea, took Eretria, and put it to the flame.

Among the casualties of the sack was the recently rebuilt Temple to Apollo Daphnephoros, the site of one of the very earliest temples in Greece – a Geometric structure called the "Bay Hut," owing to its construction from Apollo's sacred laurel wood. According to Pausanias, this was the form of the earliest temple at Delphi, and the epithet used at Eretria ("Laurel-bearer") reinforces the Delphic connection. The date of the third temple, the one burned by the Persians, is unknown; excavators have proposed an early date, circa 520, but on style the sculptures are later, around or after 500, and, owing to the destruction, they must be earlier than 490. Eretria, whose relations with Pisistratus had long been close, evicted its tyrant and established its own democracy shortly before Athens did (509); the shared institution helped forge a strong connection between the two cities, reflected in the prominence of the Athenian hero Theseus in the Eretrian temple's pedimental sculptures.

Three main pieces are preserved from the **Amazonomachy** of the west pediment: the upper torso of Athena (Figure 5.1), a group of Theseus carrying the Amazon queen Antiope (Figure 5.2), and a kneeling Amazon archer taken to Rome in antiquity. While the style of these figures is still purely Archaic, it is more advanced than that of the marble Gigantomachy on the Acropolis. The Athena wears the characteristic garb of the Archaic kore, to which an aegis is added, yet the folds are soft and rounded rather than harsh and angular. The monstrous gorgoneion shows similar development of Archaic schemata, especially in eyes that are deeply inset and lids that are distinctly undercut. Athena's spiral shoulder curls are uncommon on sixth-century korai, although something similar is seen on the Corcyra pediment Gorgon. They may be seen as archaizing elements on a still Archaic work; if so this would suggest a high degree of stylistic self-consciousness and, most logically, a very late placement within the Archaic stylistic sequence. The same might be said of the peremptory pattern on the diagonal mantle border visible just above the aegis.

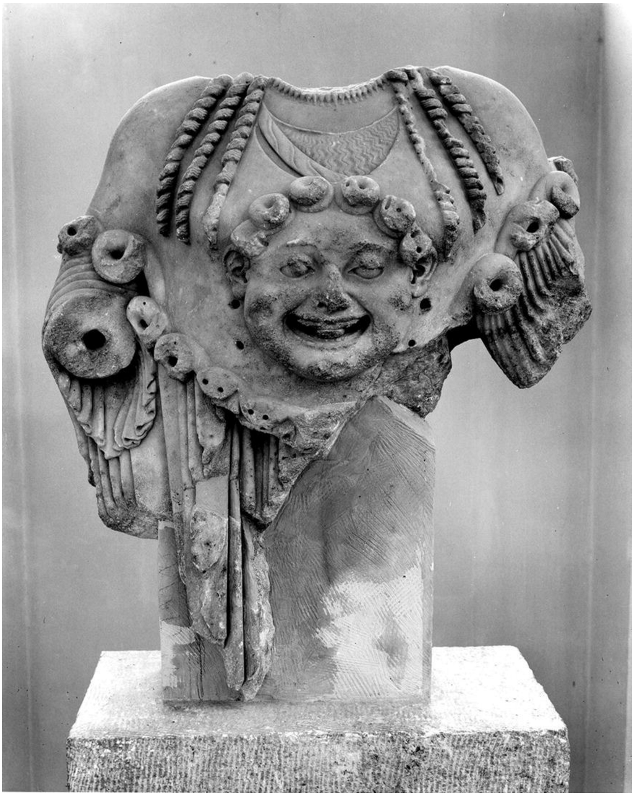

Figure 5.1 Eretria, Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros. West Pediment. Athena. Archaeological Museum of Eretria. Marble. Circa 500. H. 2′ 5″ (0.74 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

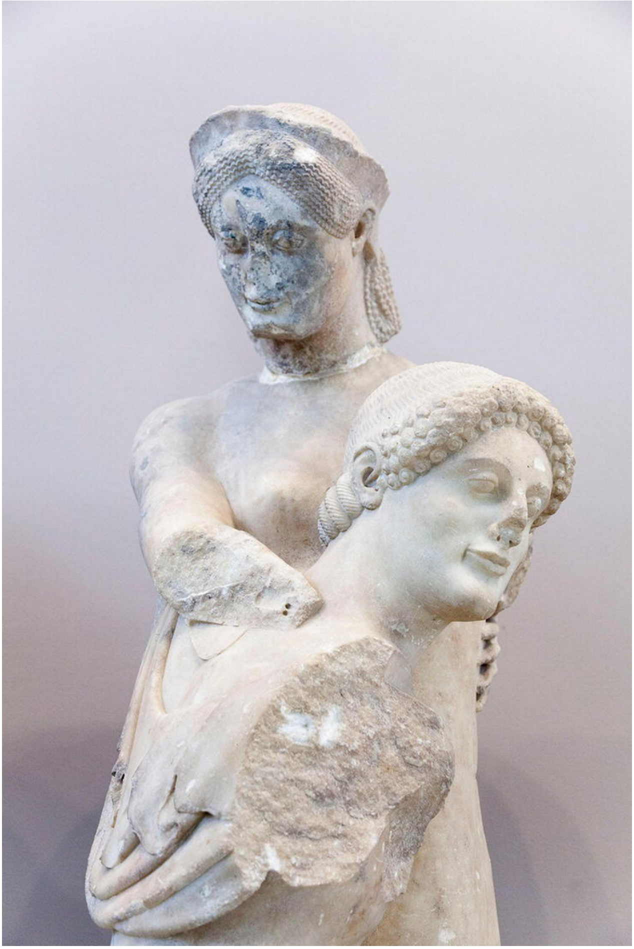

Figure 5.2 Eretria, Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros. West Pediment. Theseus and Antiope. Archaeological Museum of Eretria. Marble. Circa 500. H. 3′ 7″ (1.10 m).

Source: Archaeological Museum of Eretria.

The complex intertwining of Theseus and Antiope, as well as the anatomical treatment of the hero, recall the experimental forms of red-figure vase painting; a famous group of wrestlers on an amphora by the Pioneer Euthymides is similar. Yet the grouping here is far less awkward, and the diverging angles of the two gazes gives the composition a convincingly three-dimensional impression. Hairstyles and facial features retain Archaic schemata; the lips bear still a subtle smile, less pronounced when viewed, properly, from below. The pleats at Antiope's garment hem resemble those on Athena's himation sleeve. The folds of Theseus' short shoulder mantle project boldly, sweep broadly, and are softly rounded, anticipating early Classical forms. The Amazon archer kneels in a pose that recurs on the Aegina pediments discussed below. The style of these figures fits the early fifth century, following the Acropolis pediment and the red-figure innovations of the Pioneers.

Pausanias (see box to Chapter 6) states quite clearly that the Athenians built a treasury at Delphi from "the spoils taken from the army that landed with Datis at Marathon" (10.11.5). If he is correct, then this treasury must date after 490, later than the destruction of the Eretria temple. Abutting the south flank of the building is a long triangular base inscribed: "The Athenians [dedicate this] to Apollo as offerings from the Battle of Marathon, taken from the Mede." French archaeologists, who have worked at Delphi since the nineteenth century, maintain that Pausanias was correct. Others, mostly for stylistic reasons, have considered that date too late and propose that Pausanias was misled by the inscription on the base. The topic has been much debated, primarily on the basis of sculptural style and plausible historical context. The issue seemed to have been closed when an investigation of the masonry at the west end of the building concluded that, since there were blocks connecting the base and temple platform, they must have been erected together. This connection has since been questioned, so the date must once again be determined by style.

Box Bronze-Casting Techniques – "Copies and Originals"

While relatively large-scale hollow-cast bronzes were produced in Greece by the sixth century at the latest, it is not until the early fifth that this technique comes to be preferred for the production of statuary, as indicated by both the increasing rarity of marble statuary and cuttings on statue bases. Marble statues are carved with a flat piece of stone attached to the feet (plinth) that is leaded into a broad shallow cutting, while each foot of a bronze statue is dowelled into a much smaller hole, so the two types of base look very different.

Statues were cast using the “lost-wax” process, wherein a wax version of the statue, corresponding precisely in form to the desired image, is encased in a clay mantle, melted out, and replaced with molten bronze. For the statue to be hollow, this wax prototype must consist of a thin skin over a clay core, held in place by metal pins. After cooling, the mantle is broken away, and the core may or may not be removed. Eyes are inlaid with different colors of stone for the whites, irises, and pupils. Eyelashes, lips, nipples, teeth, and other details, such as garment decoration, can then be added in contrasting colors of metal, such as copper and silver. Final touches are engraved on the surface of the bronze, which is highly polished to a gleaming yellowish-gold.

Both aesthetic and technical motivations for the change can be offered. The impact of gleaming bronze statuary would have been striking, more so even than brightly painted marble, and the more expensive material may have been considered a more effective votive *agalma*. More practical considerations include bronze’s greater tensile strength and thus increased suitability for rendering the “weight-shift” and actively posed figures of the time, or even the economic efficiency of mass production.

This last argument depends on the differentiation between two bronze-casting techniques – direct and indirect. In the former the wax prototype is assembled around a clay core and given its final form before the entire object is invested for casting. In indirect casting, the sculptor creates a model in clay or plaster that is precisely the form of the desired statue. The artisan then takes piece molds from this model and lines each with thin wax; the thin wax castings are then removed and reassembled to form a prototype wax statue to which final details can be added, also in wax. This shell is disassembled and each part provided with a core, invested, and cast. The bronze pieces are reassembled and the statue given its final details and finish. The most significant difference that in the former method the sculptor's prototype is of wax and thus destroyed in the casting process. In the latter, it is plaster, survives the process, and thus can be used to create any number of castings. Since the wax casting prototype is pieced together, moreover, these parts can be reassembled to create variations on the prototype as well as exact replicas.

The demonstration that indirect piece casting was the norm in Classical Greece has revised views of both artistic agency and originality. Once a master sculptor created a model, he handed the work over to skilled foundry workers to produce any number of replicas and variants, with the master only adding the finishing touches. Thus we can now find plausible Pliny's comment that the Late Classical master Lysippus produced over 1500 statues in his lifetime. Finally, what we interpret to be distinct statuary types may actually reflect variations after a single prototype, raising doubt about the applicability in ancient Greece of modern ideas about "creative genius" and related attempts to distinguish "artist" from "craftsmen" and "copy" from "original," issues that will loom large over the discussion of Classical statuary in subsequent chapters.

This treasury was an elegant Parian marble building, Doric and so somewhat more restrained than the Siphnian, but no less fully outfitted with architectural adornment. Each of the 30 metopes had sculptured decoration. According to the commonly accepted reconstruction, fully half represent exploits of Heracles, but these were on the less visible sides of the structure; six at west (the back) show his battle with Geryon, and individual deeds were depicted on the north, which faces the Apollo temple terrace. The south flank, conspicuous to viewers approaching from below, was dedicated to Theseus. The east metopes portray an Amazonomachy, in which both heroes participate, a theme that was repeated by lateral acroteria in the form of mounted Amazons.

Fragments of pedimental sculpture have also been identified: an epiphanic deity in a chariot at east and a battle at west, as on the Apollo temple above.

The style of the metopes shows clear affinities to that of the Eretria pediment. Comparison of the two scenes of Theseus and an Amazon (Figure 5.3) illustrates the correspondence in drapery patterns, musculature (especially Theseus' abdomen), hairstyles, and drapery. The violence of this metope contrasts with the quieter atmosphere of that with Theseus and Athena (Figure 5.4), as the generally confrontational tenor of the program is occasionally punctuated by more psychologically engaging episodes. The use of Archaic garments and linear drapery patterns is, as at Eretria, mollified by a smoothing of transitions and angles, such as the swallowtail pattern terminating the central pleat of Athena's skirt or fully S-shaped rather than zigzag edge of Theseus' cloak. Indeed, the entire treatment of Theseus' drapery reflects dissatisfaction with Archaic formal strictures that here leads to a softening, in other works to a mannered exaggeration, of age-old patterns of representation. In pose too, the essentially Archaic stiff-legged, flat-footed arrangement reveals in the slight flex of knee and in Athena's right foot, wrapped slightly over the edge of the metope frame, subtle acknowledgement that the body bears, and reacts to, its own weight. Other figures, however, float weightlessly in space.

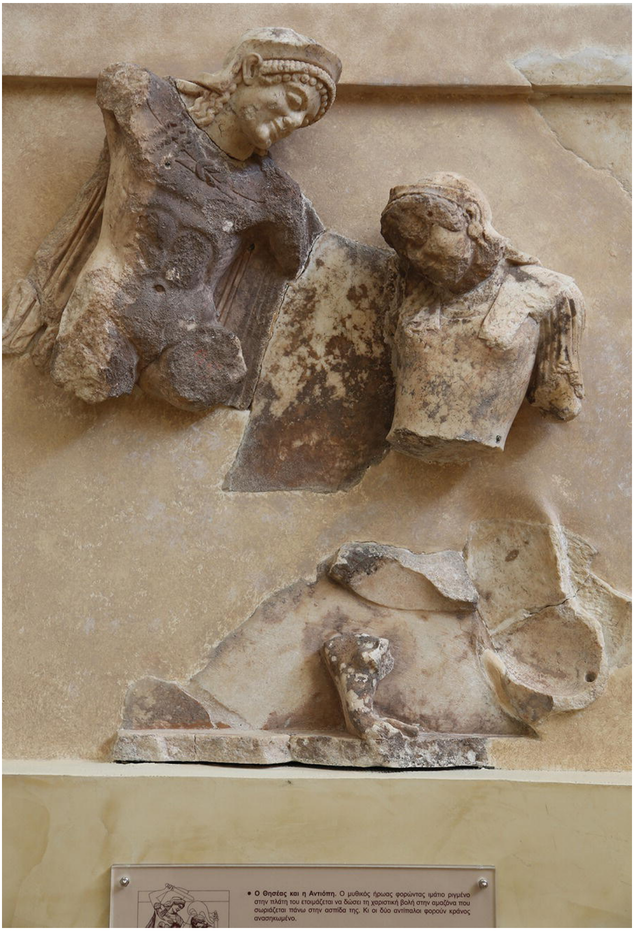
Ο Θησέας και η Αντιόπη. Ο μυθικός ήρωας φορώντας ιμάτιο ριγμένο στην πλάτη του ετοιμάζεται να δώσει τη χαριστική βολή στην αμαζόνα που σωριάζεται πάνω στην ασπίδα της. Κι οι δύο αντίπαλοι φορούν κράνος ανασηκωμένο.

Figure 5.3 Delphi, Treasury of the Athenians. Metope with Theseus and an Amazon. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 490. H. (restored) 2′ 2″ (0.67 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Photo by author.

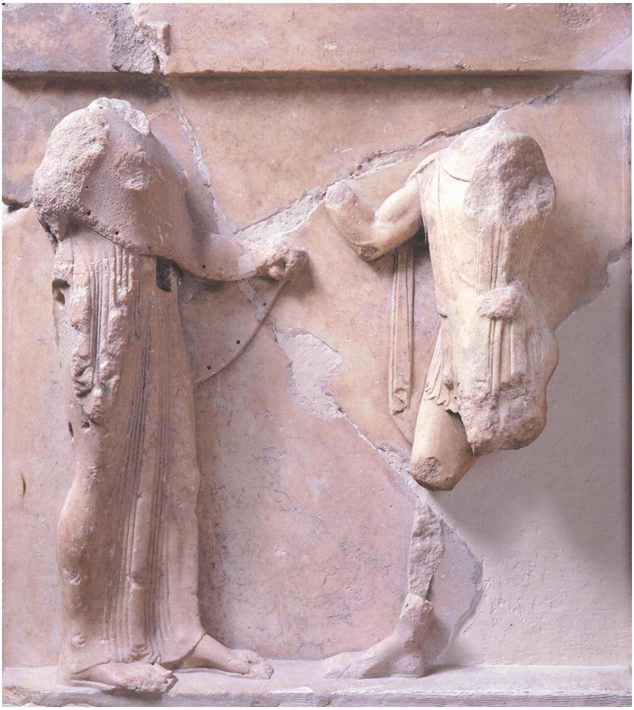

Figure 5.4 Delphi, Treasury of the Athenians. Metope with Theseus and Athena. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 490. H. (restored) 2′ 2″ (0.67 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah.

There is also a similarity to the figures of the Eretria pediment in the facial structure, as well as some differences in detail. As elsewhere on the metopes, Theseus' eyelids are not carved into the stone, but were added in paint; there is also a somewhat softer treatment of the facial features, especially around the cheeks. Differing hands have been detected on the metopes, and the involvement of both island and Attic masters has been postulated, although by this time the blending of traditions is long since complete. These variations have also been attributed to a relatively long construction period, which might explain the difference in the date of the architecture (at or before 500) and of sculptural style (490s or 480s). Style, then, does not date the sculptures. We see different hands and different traditions, but despite the variety, small size, and significance of the building to the early democracy of Athens suggests that it was erected in a relatively short period of time. The late Archaic period was one of rapid experiment and change, and these developments do not necessarily occur in a straightforward manner over the course of 20 or 30 years. There is a definite stylistic connection between the Acropolis Gigantomachy, the Eretria Amazonomachy, and the Athenian Treasury, which should have been created, in that chronological order, over a period of 10–15 years. Whether the last falls before or after 490 depends, in the end, on whether one believes Pausanias and how one reads the architectural evidence.

Whether or not the Athenian Treasury was erected after Marathon is a more important issue for the interpretation of iconography. Three aspects attract attention: the foregrounding of the deeds of Theseus, the obvious association of that hero with Heracles, and the sudden prominence of the Amazonomachy. These developments can all be situated in the context of 490s Athens. Theseus, whose activities are also frequently represented on vases of this time, is clearly emerging as *the* Athenian hero espoused by the new democracy. It is often suggested that he is promoted at the expense of Heracles because of the latter's association with Athens under the tyrants, but this reading exaggerates any suppression of Heracles, who remains as important in Classical Athens as he was in earlier times. The point here is the assimilation of the two heroes, which, as has been convincingly suggested, merges the specifically Athenian quality of the one with the Panhellenic appeal of the other; in this way Heracles becomes more Athenian and Theseus more a hero for all the Greeks. This is happening at a time when Athens is becoming ever more ambitious and outward looking, as evidenced by her involvement in the Ionian revolt.

It is in this latter context that the emergence of the Amazonomachy also can be understood. First of all, it is an important way of linking Theseus and Heracles, since a conflict with Amazons is a story that the two heroes share. Moreover, in Classical times the Amazon is used as a metaphor for the alien, feminized, oriental Persian. While the Ionian revolt was a minor exploit in comparison with the enormity of the two later Persian invasions of the mainland, nonetheless the westward designs of the Great King were clear enough already in the late sixth century, and the inevitability of eventual conflict was no doubt already apparent. That the effects of Persia’s violent suppression of the revolt had an impact on Athens in the 490s is clear enough in the story of Phrynicus’ play, a year after which the first, abortive, invasion took place. This interpretive framework can be richly fleshed out if the treasury is securely dated after 490. The Amazon–Persian association is in this case assured. Both heroes are closely connected with the story of Marathon; Theseus himself is said to have appeared at the battle to aid the Athenians. Moreover, the ambition of the Athenians reflected in the promotion of their own hero can be connected with the aspirations to Hellenic leadership that arose from their unlikely victory at Marathon, as evidenced by the rapid construction of their own naval forces. In addition, this program, like that of the Siphnian Treasury, has been seen to reflect the internal conflicts of the commissioning polis through its appropriation of the credit and glory for the Marathonian victory from the aristocratic general Miltiades by the Athenian citizenry. Heracles, in this reading, stands here not for the tyrant but for the Panhellenic elite and Theseus for the people of Athens. Iconography, like style, can be made to fit either before or after the Marathon watershed, although our understanding changes depending on how the question of date is resolved.

On a small limestone temple to the sea-nymph Aphaea on the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf was installed a program of pedimental sculpture that has come to serve as the very definition of the transition to Classical. Located midway between Attica and the Peloponnese, with strong cultural connections in both directions, Aegina was a wealthy mercantile state in the sixth century, famed for its widely circulating coinage. As a neighboring economic competitor it was in constant conflict with Athens until 458, when the island was forced into the Delian League. The two states were especially at loggerheads during the early fifth century, exacerbated when Aegina submitted to Persian authority (“medized”) in 491, although Aegina did join the Hellenic alliance in resistance to the Persian invasion of 480.

A mid-sixth-century Aphaea temple burned and was replaced with an entirely new one, dated on the basis of its architectural forms to around 500. This temple, well preserved, is modest in size but elegant in design. It is of limestone with pedimental sculpture in island marble; its metopes, oddly, are missing. There is no lack of controversy surrounding these pediments (Figure 5.5). Those that stood on the temple in its final state are similar in composition, depicting the same basic scene – a battle between Hellenic heroes and eastern adversaries waged at either side of a central figure of Athena. The style of the two groups, however, is different, the east being more developed than the west. Other sculptures from the sanctuary, similar in style to those of the west, were long thought to document an earlier eastern pediment. No suitable explanation has been found for the replacement of just one pediment so soon after it was originally erected. Accidental damage is unlikely to have been extensive enough to warrant the replacement of an entire pediment and limited enough to have required only that much work. The identification of the "third" pediment (and a phantom "fourth") is now seriously questioned, since the sculptures can be otherwise explained; studies focus instead on the two pediments currently on display in Munich, where they were taken in the early nineteenth century.

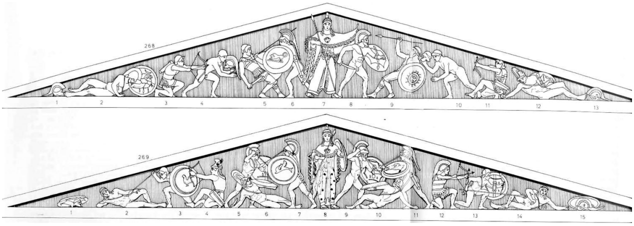

Figure 5.5 Aegina, Temple of Aphaea, East and West Pediments. Reconstruction.

Source: Boardman, J., *Greek Sculpture: the Archaic Period* (London, 1978).

The two battles are believed to represent two different Trojan wars, that on the west showing the well-known Homeric battle and that on the east, in which one can identify Heracles by his lion skin, an earlier battle fought by that hero and his comrades against Laomedon, father of Priam. The connection to Aegina is straightforward: two descendants of Aegina's legendary hero-king Aiacus were involved – Telamon fought alongside Heracles and, of course, his son Ajax fought in the later war as the greatest of the Greek warriors after Achilles. That both of these heroes, although of Aeginetan stock, were kings of Salamis may have been a goad to Aegina's Athenian rivals, since control of that island had been long contested among Athens and other Saronic Gulf states. As with the Athenian Treasury, it is tempting to read the theme of East–West conflict as allegorizing the wars with Persia, although again here the chronology is critical, especially given that Aegina, unlike Athens, had fluctuating allegiances.

That the two pediments reflect two stages of stylistic development is clear enough, especially since the strong similarity of both the overall compositions and individual figures permits direct comparison. Both scenes consist of figures that move vigorously out from a central, frontal Athena in striding, stumbling, kneeling, and collapsing poses, drawing the eye from center to either corner; scale is consistent, and figures are accommodated to their available space by pose alone. Only at the east is the eye brought back to the center by fallen figures positioned with their heads oriented away from the corners, thus moving the eye out from the center and then back again, forcing the viewer to take in the composition comprehensively.

Of the many possible comparisons of individual figures, two well-preserved corner figures suffice to illustrate the differences (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Both show wounded warriors collapsing in near-death. The facial features and hairstyle of the figure at west are fully Archaic – the snail-shell curls, distinct smile, and prominent facial structure strongly recall the Theseus from Eretria; his mannered pose, with strongly frontal torso, angled knee and elbows, and awkward if experimental muscle patterns in his contorted abdomen, are similar to, if somewhat advanced from, the falling giant from the marble pediment in Athens. Here, however, the composition is more three dimensional, with the angled leg placed in front of, rather than behind, the trailing leg. The east figure is more advanced still. The designer here abandons the conceptual by moving the right shoulder forward and allowing the arm to obscure the torso. The resulting three-dimensionality extends to the positioning of the figure, whose leg breaks the plane implied by the edge of the cornice, and whose body reacts to its own substantial weight, which in death it can no longer bear. He has lost his grip on the shield handle as his arm slips through the strap; the lowered right hand breaks his fall; his left leg is slipping forward off the pedimental floor. The beard and helmet make analysis of facial features difficult, but he seems, appropriately, to grimace more than grin. One can see a different approach on other figures of the pediment as well, especially Athena and Heracles. No trace of a smile remains; facial contours are broad, smooth and oval. Cranial structure recedes behind a new interest in far more restrained forms. In drapery, too, the mannered linearity of the west Athena's dress – more archaistic than Archaic – contrasts with the simple, plastic, corrugated forms of Heracles' chitoniskos.

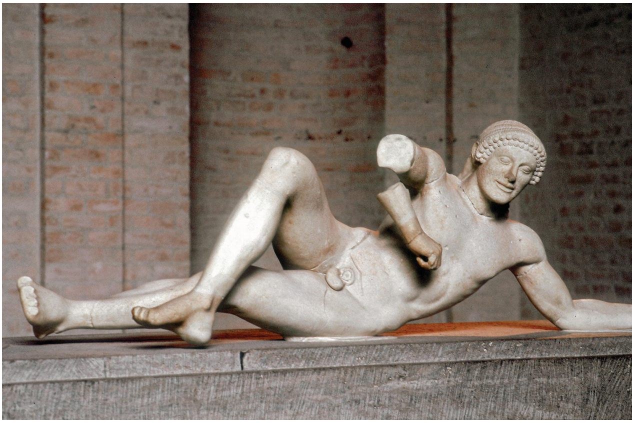

Figure 5.6 Aegina, Temple of Aphaea, Corner figure from West Pediment. Munich, Glyptothek 79. Marble. Circa 490–470. H. 1′ 7″ (0.47 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

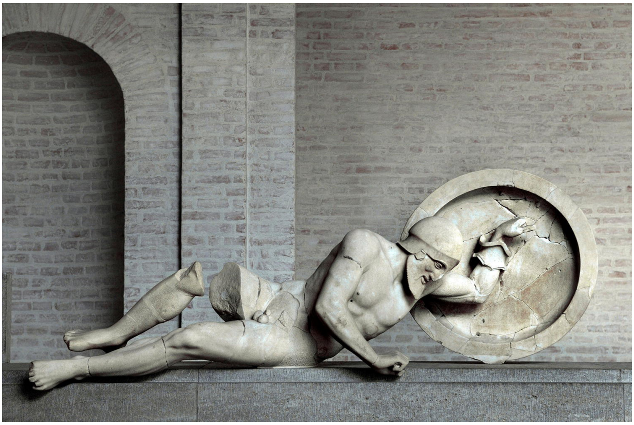

Figure 5.7 Aegina, Temple of Aphaea, Corner figure from East Pediment. Munich, Glyptothek 85. Marble. Circa 490–470. H. 2′

1″ (0.64 m).

Source: © imageBROKER/Alamy.

Since these differences mark an incipient stage in the change to a Classical style, the question of date is not without importance. Readings of the pediments based on style alone put them 10–20 years apart, with the west, so similar to Eretria, assigned to the 490s and the east to the 480s or after. Of course, whether the change to Classical occurs before or after 480 is the key question here, one that is widely discussed and vigorously debated. Archaeological evidence has recently been adduced to support a date *entirely* after 480 for the temple from its very foundations, perhaps after Persian damage to its predecessor. Thus both pediments would have been carved simultaneously, one more advanced and the other more conservative, reflecting distinct and coexisting styles in an age of very rapid transition. This is a radically new way of reading the evidence – less so for what it says about absolute chronology and more so for what it implies about stylistic sequencing; its full evaluation requires a consideration of other forms of sculpture created at the time.

The Late Archaic Acropolis: Marble Statuary

In 480 BCE, the Persians sacked Athens and did quite a thorough job of it on the Acropolis, where dedications were toppled and broken up literally with a vengeance. The Athenians returned after the Persian withdrawal and cleaned up, piously burying the fragmentary *agalmata* in deposits all around the hilltop. This could have, and was long thought to have, provided an invaluable chronological tool, since the material found in these deposits should all date to before 480; the presence of Classical works therein would indicate that the change took place before 480, and its complete absence could suggest a later date. However, a closer look shows that the cleanup took decades, not days, since it occurred in conjunction with the laying of foundations for buildings as late as the second half of the fifth century. Since these deposits are mostly of mixed material, archaeological evidence from the Acropolis is no longer held to establish the date of the transition between the two styles, a phenomenon that they document especially well.

The Acropolis remained an important locus for the dedication of statuary in early democratic Athens. One monument directly connected with the events of the time is a fragmentary winged draped female erected on an inscribed column some 10 feet tall (Figure 5.8). The inscription identifies the figure as a messenger of the gods, so Iris or Nike, who brings news of victory. The latter is more likely since this was a victory monument for Callimachus, **polemarch** in 490. He was thus chief among the ten elected generals (**strategoi**) at Marathon, although Miltiades was credited with the tactics that defeated the Persians. He was, however, among the 192 Athenians who perished on that day. The inscription references not only his role in that battle but also a Panathenaic victory, ostensibly in the same year, although the timing is tight if, as is now argued, the battle took place in August rather than September. In any case the statue must date shortly after 490, since some time was required for its execution. It fits stylistically with the architectural sculptures already discussed. The pose, garment, and drapery style are consistent with those of the latest Archaic works. She strides vigorously in profile as she alights with left leg slightly bent, while her torso turns to face the viewer. The pleats are long and flowing, suggesting rapid motion; the swallowtails of her himation and chiton skirt have similarly flaring profiles. The undulating folds between her left leg and the first pleat mark the intrusion of incipient Classical forms, as does the perfunctory rendering of her crinkly chiton. This firmly dated monument attests to the currency of Archaic forms as late as the early 480s and supports the dating of the similar sculptures at Eretria, Delphi, and Aegina (west at least) in this same late Archaic milieu.

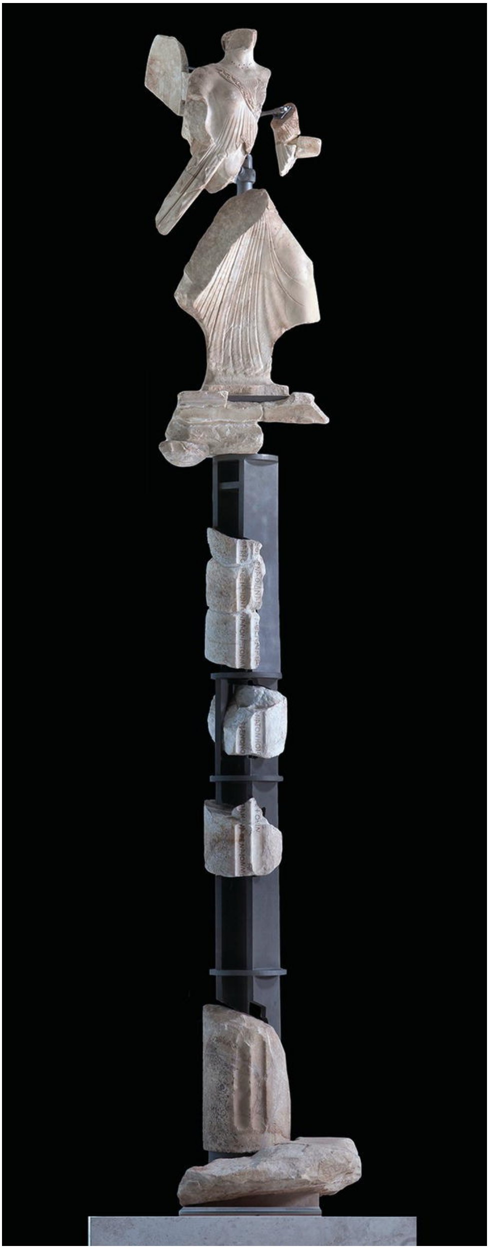

Figure 5.8 Nike from Acropolis dedicated in honor of Callimachus. Athens, Acropolis Museum 690. Marble. Circa 490. H. 4′ 7″ (1.4 m).

Source: Athens, Acropolis Museum.

While not so common as they had been in the late sixth century, marble korai continued to be dedicated on the Acropolis in the early fifth. One such statue is extensively preserved in two sections from two different deposits. The lower portion preserves the capital of its columnar base, which bears the name of its dedicator, Euthydicus son of Thaliarcus (Figure 5.9). The garment type and pose are consistent with those of earlier Acropolis korai, but the drapery reflects a further stage in the softening and simplification of forms typical of works around 490. The diagonal himation lacks the intricacy and variety of korai from even a decade or two earlier; the pleats here are far more rounded and thick. The chiton entirely lacks the Archaic convention of crinkle folds; in fact it is painted with a chariot frieze, a feature one would expect to be woven into a heavier garment. Similarly, the hairstyle, although still composed of repetitive formulae, has taken on a restrained plausibility that contrasts strongly with the impossibly ornate coiffures seen on the earlier marble maidens. Here the hair is parted in the middle and combed in continuous tresses to either side, resembling a common Classical scheme. Yet what is most strikingly new is the rendering of the face, especially the complete absence of a smile; the now heavy lips are horizontally set, the curve of the lower reflecting that of the upper. This is the form seen on figures from the Aeginetan east pediment, and the similarity extends to the simple, broad oval outline of the face, the suppression of cheekbones, and the thick eyelids. Rarely can one see so clearly as here the tension between Classical innovation and Archaic tradition.

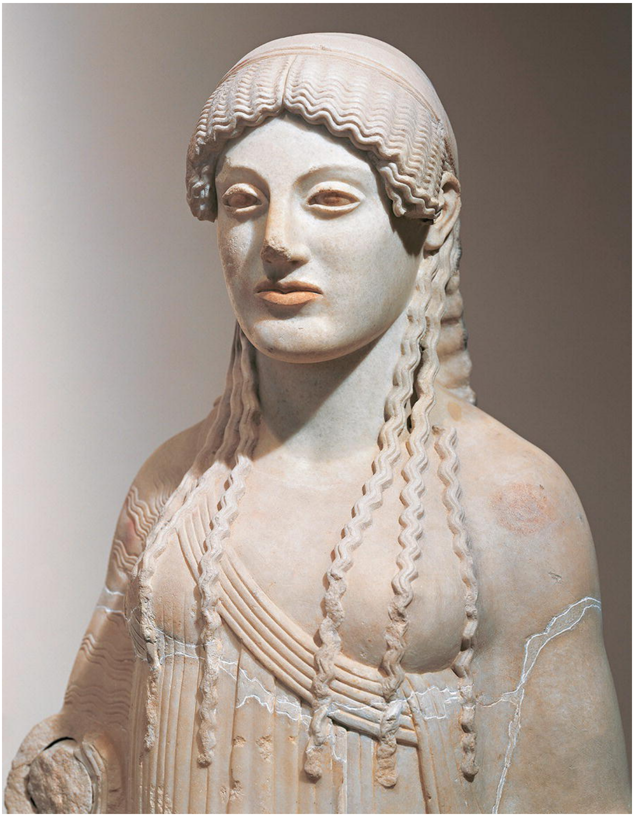

Figure 5.9 Kore from Acropolis dedicated by Euthydicus. Marble. Athens, Acropolis Museum 686, 609. Marble. Circa 490–480. H. (torso/head) 1′ 11″ (0.58 m); (legs) 1′ 5″ (0.42 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti.

A second small marble statue from the Acropolis represents the final abandonment of the kore schema. Dedicated by Angelitus and carved by Euenor (Figure 5.10), and a mere 30 inches tall, she nonetheless stands with the monumental dignity of the goddess Athena, whom she clearly represents. No longer a generic kore, she is draped with the goddess' aegis and originally held a spear in her right hand. Nor is her garment the Archaic chiton/himation but the Classical **peplos**, a heavy woolen rectangle folded over, wrapped around the body, fastened at the shoulders, and in this case girded just above the waist. The heavy material suits the new style with fewer, simpler, more rounded folds – the effect has been described as “doughy.” Even more innovative than the substance of the folds is their arrangement, which utterly rejects the formalistic repetitiveness of the Archaic. Each fold seems to have been individually conceived with regard to how it describes the garment’s reaction to the shapes and positioning of the underlying body. The pose revealed by this drapery arrangement constitutes the most significant innovation of all. She does not stand symmetrically stiff-legged, but rests most of her weight on one leg, the left, and flexes her right knee slightly to indicate its more relaxed state. This shift in balance is emphasized by her left hand, which in resting on the hip draws the viewer’s eye to the point where the weight of the torso is transferred to the legs. The spear in the right hand re-emphasizes the non-weight bearing function of the leg on that side. As in the east pediment at Aegina, the body visibly reacts to the effects of its own mass. The heavy vertical folds over the left leg recall the flutes of a column, reflecting this limb’s weight-bearing quality. The largely smooth clinging fabric over the flexed leg (the “free” leg as it is called) is interrupted by a very small number of thin folds curving across the thigh and calf, describing by their shape the formal projection of the underlying body – an artifice commonly called “modeling drapery.” This is an entirely Classical statue in which the artist has fully thought out and brought to visible form the physical dynamics of both the underlying body and the concealing yet revealing garment. The kore is now a thing of the past.

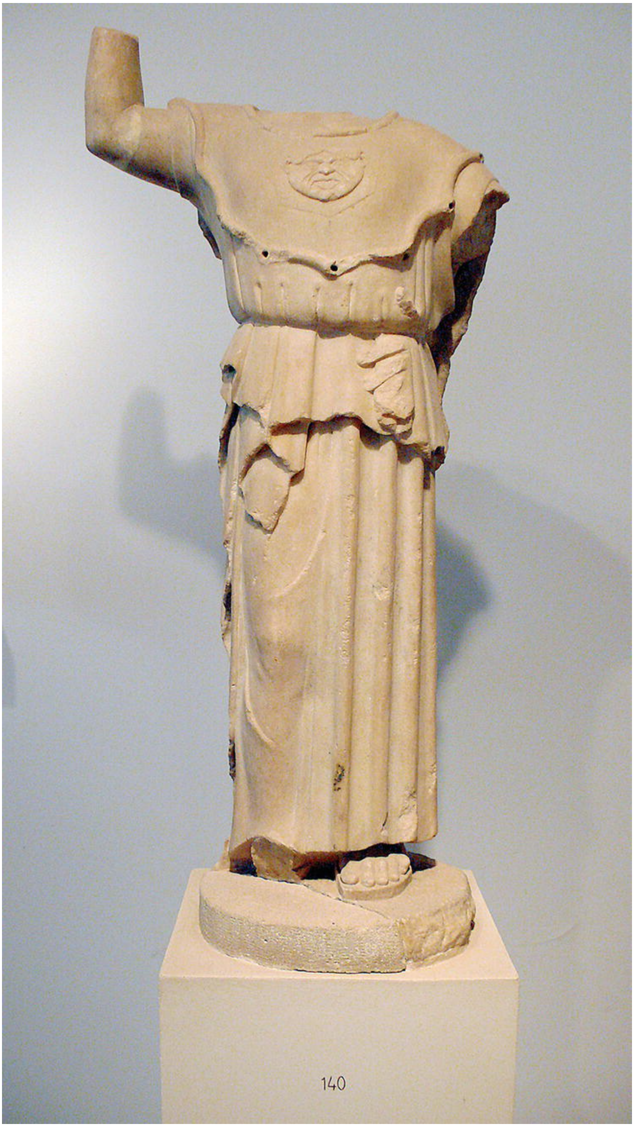

Figure 5.10 Euenor, Athena from Acropolis dedicated by Angelitus. Athens, Acropolis Museum 140. Marble. Circa 480. H. 2′ 6″ (0.77 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

Is the kouros similarly transformed? There is a substantial corpus of marble nude males that are stylistically comparable to Aristodicus, including examples from Ptoon, the Acropolis, the islands and elsewhere. Like Aristodicus, many of these deviate somewhat from the scheme, especially in the positioning of the arms, but the basic stance is maintained. None is datable, but it seems likely that the group extends into the fifth century. Around the same time as Euenor carved his Athena for Angelitus, the nude male too takes on its Classical form in the so-called Critian Boy (Figure 5.11). About four feet tall when complete, restored from several fragments found in different Acropolis deposits, the statue is preserved without its base, and so we know nothing of its dedicator or artist. The old nickname derives from a presumed stylistic connection to works of the sculptor Critius, active before and after around 480, whose work is known only from Roman copies. The pose here is that of Angelitus' Athena, but since he is undraped one sees how the sculptor has extended the effects of weight shift to every part of the body. The elevation of the left hip relative to the right is marked, as is the parallel arrangement of the knees. The lines so defined are offset by an opposite arrangement of the shoulders with the right elevated, although this is far less visible than the shift of hips and knees. The asymmetry is also reflected by the turn of the head to the proper right, balanced by a slight displacement of the bent right knee to the left. While this remains every bit the ideal of youthful male beauty, the kouros schema has now been thoroughly rejected.

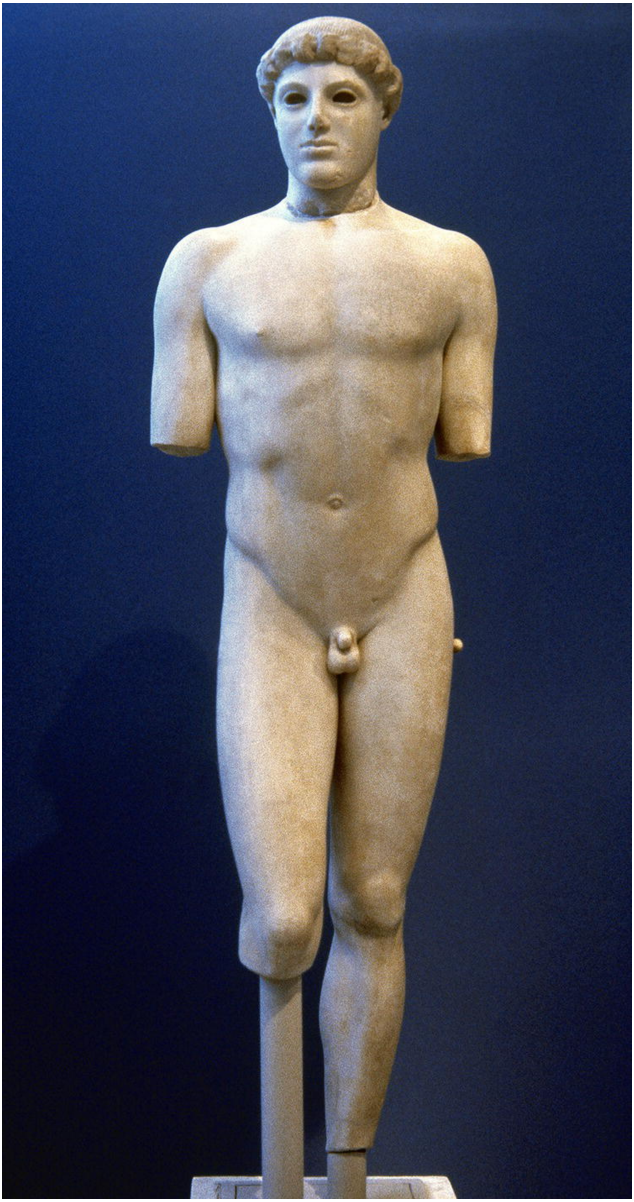

Figure 5.11 Critian Boy. Athens, Acropolis Museum 689. Marble. Circa 490–480. H. 2′ 10″ (0.86 m).

Source: © Prisma Archivo/Alamy.

The facial features are close to those of Euthydicus’ kore. The two statues share the heavy impassive mouth, broad oval outline, and only slight acknowledgement of the cheekbones and chin. Heaviness and simplicity dominate. The inlaid eyes on the male statue create a different effect, unusual but not unknown in Archaic work. Here, as on Antenor's kore, the technique may be connected with bronze work. Critius, like Antenor, is known to have worked this material. Metallic too is the treatment of the hair over the forehead, where individual locks are rolled back around a fillet. The hair of the cranial cap is more conventional, a simple pattern of wavy lines somewhat less rigidly rendered than the forehead tresses of the kore.

If Angelitus' dedication was not a kore but more explicitly Athena, how does this statue stand in relation to the tradition of kouroi? Is the weight shift simply a further stylistic step from formalism to naturalism, or is a deliberate and significant choice that utterly changes the meaning of the statue from that of the kouros (whatever it was) to something more specific? On the most general level, of course, it remains an idealized image of the young male. In this case youth itself is more emphasized, not only by the modest scale, but also by the less developed anatomy, which is more an iconographic feature than a stylistic one. Most commonly, he is seen as a characterization of a boy as opposed to a mature youth, perhaps commemorating a victory in the games specially held for the youngest competitors; characterization of stages of life is a recognized feature of Classical sculpture. Alternatively, he could, like many other votive statues, represent a deity or hero; Theseus as a boy has been suggested – an attractive proposal considering the increasing importance of that hero in early fifth-century Athens.

Statuary in Bronze

The reflection of bronze-working in the Critian boy contains an apt piece of irony, reminding us that he represents both the beginning of something new – the Classical style – and the end of something old – a statuary production dominated by marble. Bronze was now the preferred material, a fact that not only affects stylistic development but also fundamentally transforms both what we know about Greek statuary and how we know it (cf. box). To begin with the latter, the major issue is that bronze work almost never survived the end of antiquity unless it had been hidden away, either intentionally as in votive deposits, or by accident as in a shipwreck. Those that stood above ground, even in a ruined state, were melted down in later antiquity. Although many marble sculptures were burned for the lime used in mortared construction, they were also used as building blocks in later structures. So they survive, in nothing like the quantity in which they originally existed, but much more so than bronzes. Consequently, we have a relatively large corpus of statuary from the Archaic period, while the number from the Classical period is miniscule. Moreover, we can estimate the magnitude of our loss, both because preserved statue bases document the preponderant use of bronze and because later, especially Roman, writers provide a treasury of information about the sculptures that still stood in their time and the sculptors who made them. Fortunately, the Romans also made copies of Classical sculptures to scale in marble, and it is primarily through this means that we recreate and evaluate the object of our study.

There are, however, surviving early Classical bronzes; among the works from the Acropolis deposits, for example, is a small bronze head very similar in style and coiffure to the Critian Boy. Two well-preserved Early Classical statues in bronze provide some insight into the industry. A great earthquake at Delphi in 373 BCE resulted in the burial of, among other things, the remains of an over-life-size chariot group in bronze. Pausanias describes such groups at both Delphi and Olympia, and from his account one can envision an elaborate and opulent display including a chariot, a charioteer, horses, grooms and attendants on foot or horseback, and in some cases a deity or personification crowning the victor. Here there survives most of the charioteer figure (Figure 5.12) and some fragments of reins, chariot, and horses. This group has long been associated with a specific dedicator and a narrow range of date owing to an inscribed base block found near, though not together with, the bronzes. The problematic inscription preserves the name of Polyzalus as dedicator; this should refer to one of the four sons of Deinomenes, tyrant of Syracuse, most or all of whom served as tyrants in one or another Sicilian polis in the early fifth century. The monument is thought to commemorate his presumed (but undocumented) victory in the Pythian chariot race in 478 or

474. The section of the inscription with Polyzalus' name was recut over an erasure (which seems to read "ruler of Gela"), so another possibility is that he rededicated in his own name a monument set up earlier by another, perhaps his brother Hieron, who did win three times at Delphi (only once, in 470, in the chariot race), and who *was* tyrant at Gela. In 478, however, Hieron left Gela to succeed his brother Gelon at Syracuse, so he was not the Geloan tyrant when he celebrated his Pythian chariot win. The whole matter is much debated, and the most recent study has separated the charioteer from this base entirely since its cuttings suggest a smaller scale group than that preserved. What has traditionally been seen as a fixed chronological point seems once again to be reliant on style.

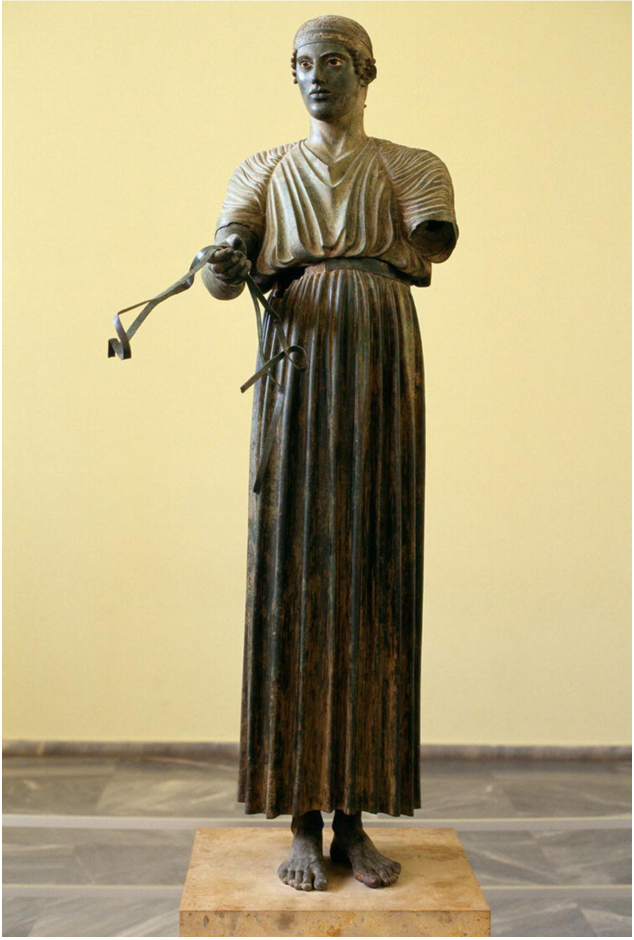

Figure 5.12 Charioteer from Apollo Sanctuary, Delphi. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Bronze. Circa 470–460. H. 5′ 11″ (1.80 m).

Source: © Peter M. Wilson/Alamy.

The charioteer is a masterpiece of bronze sculpture, hollow cast in several pieces with temple curls solid cast separately, eyes inset in stone, and details (fillet design, lips, teeth, eyelashes) inlaid in copper or silver. Whether the statue dates circa 470 or circa 460 is of some importance because it represents the Classical style at a developed stage and thus has implications for the dating of the stylistic transition itself. As a draped male it is not easily compared with other works, but here the drapery arrangement, together with the turn of the head, functions to express the asymmetry and implied weight shift of other early Classical works. The folds themselves are heavy and “doughy,” their patterns change across the four primary segments of the body created by the belt and shoulder cord, the larger the section the fewer and broader the folds; this a conceptual, analytical scheme. The significant variation in the individual shapes of the folds creates visually engaging patterns as they loop to describe the blousing of the thin charioteer’s tunic or curve to model the body underneath. This is a treatment significantly advanced from that of Angelitos’ Athena. The facial features, restrained and severe, and the narrow oval of the facial outline seem later than the corresponding features on the Critian Boy. The cap of crescent-shaped curls reflects a complete abandonment of Archaic formalized approaches that persist on the earliest Classical works. An emerging consensus putting the statue in the 460s seems correct.

To the same date, or slightly later, can be assigned another over-life-size bronze statue, the striding male found in the sea off Cape Artemision, identified either as Poseidon or Zeus (Figure 5.13). Evident here is the freedom permitted the artist by the new material, especially the deep extension of the arms and his pose, resting lightly on the left heel and right toe. The latter turns back to trail the motion, forcing the right leg into a frontal view, while the left remains in profile, suggesting a three-dimensionality that is another Classical innovation. The facial features display a developed Classical form, as do the patterns of the hair and beard – dynamically balanced but not rigidly symmetrical. The pose creates an eloquent outline, built up from a pattern of adjacent triangles and displaying a balance of corresponding opposites – bent and straight arms and legs – that in later work is called **chiasmos**. It is, moreover, a highly conceptual design: no figure tossing a projectile, whether trident, thunderbolt, spear, or javelin, could be compressed into so shallow a space. Yet its effect on the viewer is more emotional than intellectualized – a powerful and sudden intervention of the deity into the affairs of man, an epiphany in gleaming bronze.

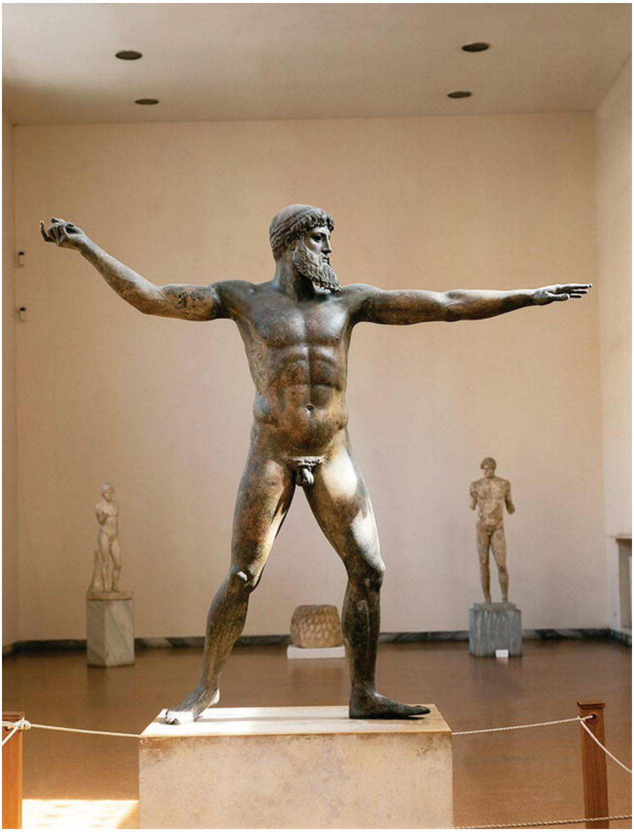

Figure 5.13 Zeus or Poseidon from Cape Artemision. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Br 15161. Bronze. Circa 460. H. 6′ 10″ (2.09 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti.

The tradition of this apparition is an old one, going back to the striding Archaic Athena of the Acropolis who, in what is called the Promachos pose, dispatches giants, protecting her favored worshippers by establishing Olympian order. A similar effect was sought in a statue group that provides our most firmly dated example of earliest Classical sculpture, although known only through copies. The first of these groups, by Antenor, has already been mentioned. It represented the youthful Harmodius and mature Aristogiton, alleged lovers who slew Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias, at the Panathenaia of 514; although this act was more personally than politically motivated and led only indirectly, if at all, to the fall of tyranny, the two were given the singular honor of a statuary group erected in the Agora. Antenor's group was removed by the Persians in 480 and centuries later restored to Athens by a Hellenistic king; its replacement, by Critius and Nesiotes, in 477/6 was among the very first Athenian commissions after the withdrawal of the Persians. As an emblem of Athenian liberation, the sculptural group enjoyed great fame and is referenced several times in Classical art, facilitating the identification of Roman replicas (Figure 5.14).

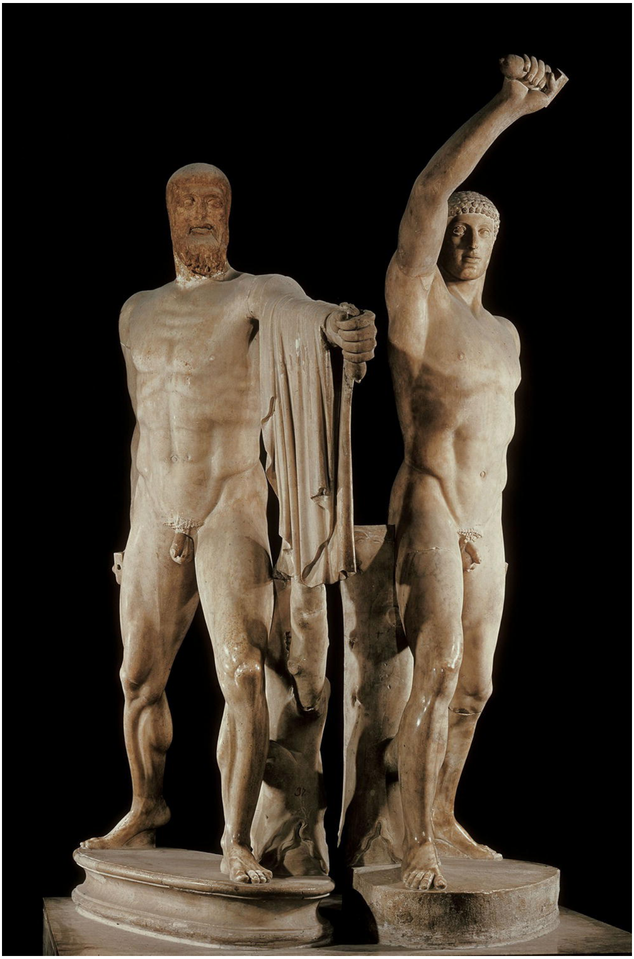

Figure 5.14 Tyrannicides by Critius and Nesiotes. Marble copies of bronze originals. Naples, National Archaeological Museum G103, 104. Originals erected 477. H. 6′ 5″ (1.95 m).

Source: akg-images/Album/Oronoz.

Posed in a mirror image arrangement, Harmodius slashes with his sword and Aristogiton, who shields his companion with his left arm, holds his weapon back, preparing to thrust. Both are barefoot and nude, aside from the cloak draped over Aristogiton’s outstretched arm, as befits the heroic stature of their act. Their poses anticipate that of the Artemision god; the reference to Athena as protector and savior is even more appropriate here.

Characterization of youth and old age is central to the story and an obvious interest of the early Classical artist; this is accomplished not only by the conventional contrast of bearded man with clean-shaven youth but also by the sagging skin over Aristogiton’s sternum. Harmodius’ snail-shell hairstyle is Archaic looking; Aristogiton’s short flamelike locks are later. Facial features and outline retain little if anything from Archaic practice, although some detect the hint of a smile; the mouths are heavy, the eyelids thick, and forms rounded and simplified. The Athena head from the Aegina east pediment seems a parallel, although her less deeply set eyes and more sharply defined forms make her look earlier. Such comparisons – different workshops, different materials, and a copy versus an original – are tricky.

The Change to Classical: Evolution or Revolution?

The stylistic and material features of the change from Archaic to Classical in Greek sculpture are clear enough, as is the fact that these developments occurred during times of momentous historic events. The two emphases that characterize Greek art from the Geometric era onward – the clear articulation of structure and the preference for the generic over the specific– persist undiminished from the earlier epoch to the later, but, as we have seen, the means used to achieve these ends do change. The restrictive, essentially Asiatic, formulae of the Archaic era give way to a new palette of forms and figural types – heavier, simpler, still idealized, but more reflective of visual experience than were the largely abstract conventions that they replace. Historicist explanations detect in the new artistic freedom a reflection of political liberation, whether from tyranny in Athens or from the threat of foreign (Persian) domination throughout Greece. Winckelmann identified as the primary causative factor Cleisthenes’ democratic reforms and the consequent emergence of a free and empowered citizenry. More commonly today the change is attributed to the experience of the Persian Wars. Not only does the new style deliberately devalue the ornate and the oriental, but also, by creating images that are more introspective than confrontational, by exploring the behavior of the human form in space through posture and ponderation, and by creating a drapery style that is more rational than ornamental, the new style manifests, by this argument, an increased sense of **humanism** that resulted from the improbable victory over Persia. The perceived ubiquity of this stylistic change, moreover, would then reflect a sense of conscious Panhellenism resulting from the collaborative victory at Plataea, thus avoiding the implicit Athenocentrism (and modern baggage) of the democracy argument. Finally, some recent studies, while emphasizing rightly the enduring artificiality of Greek art, minimize, perhaps excessively, the degree to which these developments represent change at all.

Arguments of causality must, minimally, be chronologically plausible. Almost all of the works considered here can be dated approximately but not exactly. Works assignable to the first two decades of the fifth century, the Eretria temple and Athenian Treasury, retain quite thoroughly Archaic stylistic features, while both also show in details a certain experimentation in new forms of representation. The Tyrannicides, albeit known only through copies, are fully Early Classical, so the change is essentially complete by that time. The Aegina sculptures are key, and problematic. The two stylistically distinct groups of pedimental sculpture offer our clearest illustration of the change. If, as is increasingly believed, they date entirely after 480, then, given the date of the Tyrannicides, the change indeed occurred suddenly, but only if it is also true that the many undatable examples of the Classical style, such as those from the Acropolis, cannot date before 480. In short, the chronology can be made to support whichever developmental model one prefers, and, *post hoc/ propter hoc*, even if the “change” can be pinned to the years of and following the Persian wars, it need not follow that it occurred *because* of them.

What is clear is that there were broadly based cultural developments framing the changes in visual art that took place in the decades preceding and following 500 BC, when experiments by sculptor and painter alike initiated a reaction against the limitations of Archaic schemata that was far more fundamental than the gradual formal refinements of the previous century. This era of innovation lasted throughout the turbulent years between the expulsion of Hippias and the defeat of the Persians at home and abroad. Everything is always in flux, as Heraclitus put it at the time, and, as a result of this turbulence, Greek conceptions of fate and responsibility, identity and alterity, and especially, for our purposes, perception and reality underwent transformation as well. In the end was found a formal system deemed adequate to the task of representing evolving ways of understanding the physical and metaphysical worlds. A comparably motivated re-evaluation prompted the change from Geometric to Archaic, and another will take place toward the end of the fifth century. Nor should we ignore the uneven pace and pattern of stylistic change. The down-dating of the Aegina sculptures, while offered as an argument for abruptness, also brings with it the realization that sculptures in very different stages of stylistic development could be carved at the same time by sculptors working side by side. The change may then seem more sudden to a modern viewer, who values novelty in art above all else, than to the ancient, who was more apt to seek balance between tradition and innovation.

6

The Temple of Zeus at Olympia: Panhellenism and the Early Classical (circa 470–450)

From the myriad historical explanations offered for the sudden and profound changes in Greek artistic style during the first third of the fifth century, two primary issues emerge. First, whether derived from the rise of relativistic philosophy or the birth of democratic institutions, there was a markedly increased interest in the ways in which the individual inhabits, perceives, and seeks to control his world. In art, this manifests itself in attempts to create perceptually convincing, rather than conceptually conventional, means to represent three-dimensional forms in space, especially the human figure. The second is the rejection of an artistic formalism that was derived from already very ancient eastern traditions. One objective of this change, visual plausibility, is simply a part of the first issue, but, given its politically charged implications, whether anti-Persian or anti-elite, the rejection of formalistic patterning has its own significance.

The two explanations converge at the same point. The Greek world after 480/470 appears more humanistic than before, since the victories over despotism (whether external or internal) focused attention on the capabilities and responsibilities of each individual person. At the same time the Persian wars, by highlighting cultural difference, heightened the sense of Greek identity, especially given that victory was won by Greeks of different lands fighting together, and was won, they felt, precisely because of their shared cultural superiority. Classical sculpture captures these sentiments by presenting a body that is self-aware, both in its introspective expressions and the rational interrelationships among its various parts. The body visibly bears weight just as the soul bears responsibility. Restrained and “severe” in comparison with the oriental excesses of the Archaic, the style varies little from region to region, capturing in its communality the Panhellenic spirit permeating the afterglow of victory.

Yet Panhellenism was not so simple, whether from polis to polis or across the divides of class and wealth. The Panhellenic contests at Delphi, Olympia, and elsewhere functioned to preserve a uniform ethos of the elite as distinguished from the "middling" or lower classes; the bonds among the wealthy of different poleis were generally more important than relationships with less fortunate fellow citizens. These pacts of aristocratic **xenia** ("guest-friendship") were often at the heart of inter-polis alliances, but the latter were usually both protean and *ad hoc* – expediencies to deal with a common enemy. More formal leagues of states emerged in the sixth century, most conspicuously a Peloponnesian League organized by Sparta to deal with the external (Argos) and internal (**helots**) threats to her precious and peculiar institutions. Not long afterward, Athens began to explore her professed Ionian identity as a means to extend her own influence. What becomes obvious soon after the Persian defeat is the expansion and concretization of these affiliations; indeed, the Ionian–Dorian distinction of identity soon outstrips in importance the Hellenic–barbarian. As one historian recently put it, "What then had the Greeks saved themselves from by defeating the Persian invasion? They had saved themselves from an imposed end to intercity conflict. The liberty which they had gained was the liberty to continue to interfere with each other's liberty."

The Temple of Zeus at Olympia

Given its history as the pre-eminent locus for Greeks from across the Mediterranean to both convene and compete, and its liminal role between warfare and peace, Olympia is a most fitting site to explore the double-edged sword of Greek Panhellenism. Whether or not an oath was taken at Plataea to leave in ruins what the Persians destroyed, few building projects were initiated during the three following decades. Indeed, only Olympia, among mainland sites, undertook the construction of a major temple at this time. Its primary shrine, to both Zeus and Hera, had been built in the early sixth century with a stone platform, **stylobate**, and **orthostates** but a wood and mudbrick superstructure. In the Early Classical period, a new, much larger temple to Zeus was laid out immediately to the south, complementing rather than replacing the old temple, now dedicated to Hera alone. Pausanias, who describes Olympia in great detail (5.7–22; see box), provides much valuable information about the temple and the circumstances of its construction.

Box Literary Sources I – Pausanias

While contemporaneous written sources on Greek sculpture are limited to the occasional offhand comment by a historian, poet, or philosopher, the more retrospective writers of Hellenistic and Roman times had much more to say. Especially useful are the writings of the **periegetes** – travelers who describe the sites they visit in ways that reflect their own interests. Of these the most important by far is Pausanias, a Greek native of Magnesia ad Sipylum in western Asia Minor who travelled widely in the mid-second century CE. His *Description of Greece* stands in the tradition of Hellenistic geographers, but he focused more on the monuments of men than on geography, topography, or ethnology. His intended readers were Romans on the Imperial "Grand Tour" of the historical centers of ancient Greek culture. This was the time of the Second Sophistic, a revival of the Greek past focusing primarily on its rhetoric. The Classical masters were studied and emulated through public presentations and oratorical contests. These tested not only declamatory skill, but also command of arcane pieces of information drawn from myth and history – what we might call "trivia."

It is against this background that Pausanias' very selective account of Greece must be read. He includes only the Peloponnese, Attica, and parts of Central Greece; cities and especially sanctuaries are his main concern, and within these his interest lies especially in what was already for him a very ancient world, before the time of Alexander. Yet, despite the title, his work is not limited to description; he shows great interest in explanation, even interpretation. He seeks to demonstrate why a particular myth was chosen for a particular monument, set up at that time, by that patron. Since these excurses allow him to demonstrate his erudition and expertise in prose composition, they functioned in much the same way as the popular public rhetorical displays.

We are, consequently, frustrated by his lack of interest in what we would like to know. His selectivity can be both vexing and puzzling. In contrast to his long and detailed account of the temple, sculptures, and cult statue at Olympia, he barely mentions the Parthenon, aside from the subjects of the pediments and the creatures and myths depicted on the colossal statue within. Moreover, he shows little interest in artistic style or chronological development. He certainly knew that earlier works were simpler in form and later more complex, but his interest in stylistic crudity was more antiquarian than art historical. He was especially fascinated by allegedly very old cult images in wood (*xoana*), miraculously discovered or provided by divine intervention.

Although lacking the connoisseur's devotion to artists and artistic development, he *could* recognize a particular sculptor's style. The marble Hermes from the temple of Hera at Olympia, Pausanias says correctly, is of the "*techne*" of Praxiteles (Figure 12.2), certainly referring to its style rather than its manufacture. Most of his attributions were based on signatures or provided by guides; when these sources fail him, he can be wrong. His attribution of the pediments at Olympia to Paeonius and Alcamenes is generally rejected, because we know that both were active some half century after the temple's construction. Paeonius made the acroteria, so the mistake might have simply resulted from a careless gesture by his guide. Nonetheless, scholars who reject his testimony when it conflicts with their own conclusions do so at their peril, since archaeology has proven Pausanias to be correct far more often than not.

The funds were supplied by Elis, a polis some distance away, using spoils from their conquest of nearby Pisa. This is believed to have occurred around 471. Olympia, which was an economic boon to whichever polis could control it, had been a source of dispute between larger Elis and smaller but more proximate Pisa for some time, and most believe that the former city was already in charge by the early sixth century. Mythical foundation stories (which abound) were provided by both cities, each favorable to its own claim. In any case, Elis was controlling the sanctuary by the time of the temple. Pausanias also describes a golden shield dedicated at the foot of a central Nike **acroterion** by Sparta and her allies as a tithe from the spoils of their victory over Argos, Athens, and the Ionians at Boeotian Tanagra. This battle, which took place in 457, was hard fought and costly on both sides, but Sparta could claim victory. Yet, within weeks Athens was on the offensive again, and she soon achieved a dominance on both land and sea that brought Sparta to the negotiating table. There is no small irony here. The Olympia temple, far and away the most important built between the Persian wars and the Parthenon, is universally recognized as the exemplification of Panhellenic humanism, reason, and restraint, as represented by both the style and the subject matter of its massive and exquisite marble sculptures. Yet it was funded from economically motivated warfare among neighboring Dorian states, and it immediately served as the platform for a dedication honoring the face-saving and temporary victory of the Peloponnesian alliance over the Athenian. The Persians were no longer the primary problem.

Pausanias' comment does, of course, allow us to conclude that the temple was finished before, or not long after, the battle of Tanagra, likely dedicated in one of the Olympic years 460 or 456, making it the most firmly dated building since the Siphnian Treasury. Its remains are substantial. After the games were cancelled forever in 393 CE by edict of Theodosius I, the buildings at Olympia were toppled by a series of earthquakes, and some material was pillaged for reuse. When excavated in the nineteenth century, the remains were found under a layer of sand and debris 30 or more feet deep – either deposited as alluvium by the two rivers (Alpheus and Cladeus) that frame the site or, it is now thought, brought by tsunamis in the sixth century CE. However it got there, it protected the fallen monuments from the massive post-antique depredations suffered by most Greek buildings; the Zeus Temple, though collapsed, is largely extant. It was built of a local conglomerate with many shelly inclusions (a sign of earlier flooding), covered with fine white stucco in order to resemble marble. Its roof tiles, **sima** (with lion head spouts), sculptured metopes, and pediments were Parian marble; acroteria, apparently added later, were gilded bronze. The architect, an Elean named Libon, is otherwise unknown. He tried to capture the restraint and severity of the early Classical era with a highly logical, regular, even rigid plan that uses simple forms, integral ratios among primary measurements, and a minimum of the so-called optical refinements found already in earlier buildings.

The temple was huge by mainland standards, over 200 feet long and nearly 100 feet wide; its columns were thick and its entablature heavy. Consequently, the pedimental sculpture and carved metopes were also large: the central figures of the former reach over 10 feet, and the latter are well over 5 feet square. The metopes of the peristyle were blank, until some were adorned with shields by L. Mummius Achaicus, the Roman conqueror of Greece, who famously destroyed Corinth in 146 and continued the Spartan precedent for using the temple as a billboard for boasting. Only the metopes over the two porches were carved, and these, which necessarily numbered 12, portrayed the deeds of Heracles; the convention of a dozen Heraclean labors may well derive from their occurrence on this temple. The West Pediment represented a struggle between humans and centaurs; the East is composed of a series of standing, kneeling, and reclining figures with a chariot team in each wing (Figure 6.1). The contrast between an active, even violent, western pedimental composition and a seemingly more restful one at east now becomes a common practice on Classical buildings. There is an earlier example in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and here again the “quiet” scene is an epiphanic arrival, which is an emotionally arresting experience. Yet on Olympia’s eastern gable, the mood is more somber, introspective, and suggestive – a “Classical” moment, as it has come to be called.

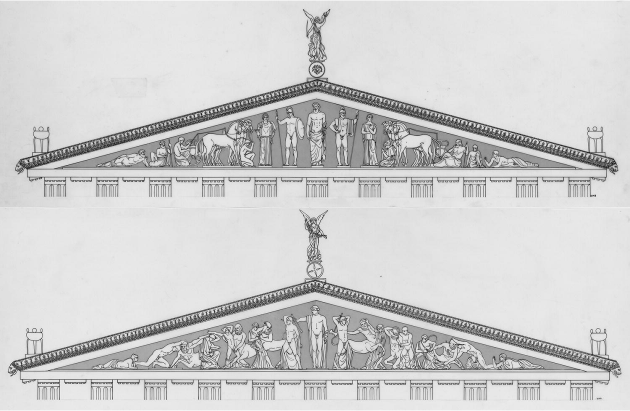

Figure 6.1 Olympia, Temple of Zeus. Reconstruction of East and West Pediments.

Source: Stewart, A., *Greek Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1990).

Pausanias provides the subjects of all the sculptures, and in the case of the East Pediment we might otherwise have had no idea what was portrayed, despite the sculptures' ample preservation and the myth's close relationship to the site. "Pelops' horserace with Oenomaus is just about to start and they are preparing," he informs us, and then proceeds to identify the most important characters: "Zeus's statue" at center, on his right Oenomaus, his wife Sterope, his charioteer Myrtilos, horses, grooms, and in the corner a personification of the Cladeus; on his left, Pelops, Hippodamaea, an unnamed driver, horses, grooms, and the Alpheus. This is an extraordinarily detailed account, and it should be easy to reconstruct the original composition and identify each figure. However, we do not know if Pausanias intends the god's left and right or the viewer's, so these figures can be situated in many different ways. The current arrangement in the Olympia Museum is illustrated here (Figure 6.2), while other reconstructions (e.g., Figure 6.1) follow different schemes; disagreement persists.

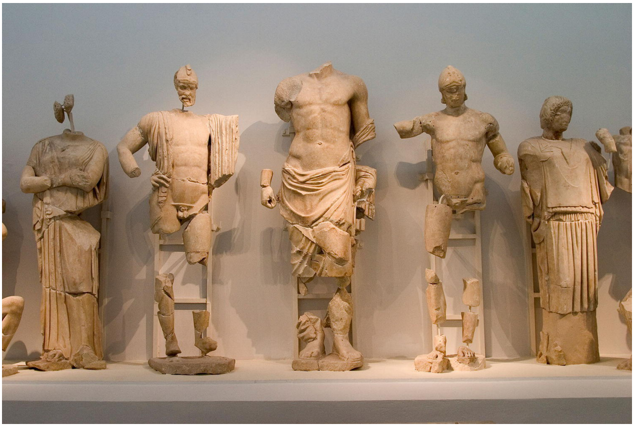

Figure 6.2 Olympia, Temple of Zeus. East Pediment. Central group: Figures F, I, H, G, K. Olympia Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 460. H. (of central figure) 10′ 4″ (3.15 m).

Source: © Odyssey-Images/Alamy.

The story was well known but not often represented. Oenomaus was a king of Pisa, whose death at the hand of his daughter's husband had been prophesied. Since he possessed divine horses, a gift from his father Ares, he insisted that suitors for the hand of his daughter Hippodamaea must defeat him in a chariot race; the punishment for defeat was death. When the hero Pelops arrived, the heads of previous suitors were displayed atop stakes before the palace. Nonetheless he took on the challenge, defeated Oenomaus, inherited his kingdom, founded the cult and games at Olympia in honor of his accomplishment, lent his name to the entire land mass of the Peloponnese (island of Pelops), and, through his son Atreus, begat the Achaean kings Agamemnon and Menelaus of Trojan War fame. Pelops' heroon was a dominant feature of the *Altis* – the sanctuary proper at Olympia. It occupies the site of a tumulus with remains going back to the Early Bronze Age, part of which would have been visible when the cult of Zeus was established here, probably in the early Dark Ages. The selection of this spot for the cult of the founding hero emphasizes the site's antiquity and thus its greater prestige than the other Panhellenic sanctuaries. The choice of this story is an obvious one, despite its rarity in art.

The central figure is of course Zeus (Figure 6.2); this would be clear even without Pausanias' detailed description; that he calls it a “statue,” however, is intriguing. The unbearded figure to the viewer’s right here should be the young suitor Pelops. Next to him the prospective bride Hippodamaea grasps her peplos in a bridal gesture. To the viewer’s left are the bearded Oenomaus and matronly Queen Sterope. The reverse arrangement (Figure 6.1) has the advantage of putting the victor Pelops on Zeus’s right, toward whom he then turns, and putting Oenomaus on the unfavorable left side, next to the thunderbolt with which the god strikes him down. Further to either side are chariot teams and attending figures. Two figures seated with torsos upright are interpreted as seers; the personified streams recline with feet in the corners, gazing toward the center and enclosing the scene. We see here the fully developed version of the early Classical “severe” style. Nude males and draped females alike stand in the weight-shift pose that originated around 480. The anatomy of the former and the drapery of the latter are designed to reflect, reveal, and describe the positioning of each part of the body. The patterns of hairstyle, folds, and muscular divisions are simple, smooth, and regular. Archaic angularity is now thoroughly abandoned, or forgotten, and “doughiness” prevails. The designs are rational, but details can be illogical, for example the folds along the handmaid’s bent leg follow rather than traverse the line of the limb, thus concealing rather than modeling it.

However, all is not so quiet as it seems. While Zeus stands calmly, both king and hero seem unsettled, both turning sharply toward the free leg. Each has his own secret about the upcoming contest. This sense of foreboding is also displayed by Sterope, with her arms crossed and left hand to the face, and most strikingly in the seer at right (Figure 6.3). He leans on a staff, which, with his receding forehead and fleshy chest, mark him out as an old man, as befits his prophetic gift. The gesture of his right hand, and the deep creases in his brow, characterize his emotion as much as his age. He is deeply concerned, presumably because he, even more clearly than the protagonists, knows what is to come. The scene, then, is more than just a portrayal of preparations for the race, as Pausanias has it. Most maintain that it is the taking of a vow before Zeus (or his statue, apparition, or conceptual presence) not to cheat in the contest, as the competitors at Olympia also had to do. The arrangement in the drawing here (Figure 6.1) might then be preferred, since it has both protagonists incline away from, rather than toward, the god in the center, which makes sense if they are swearing a false oath. Their uneasiness reinforces the knowledge that cheating will, in fact, occur and that the result of this faithlessness is, in both the short and long term, disastrous.

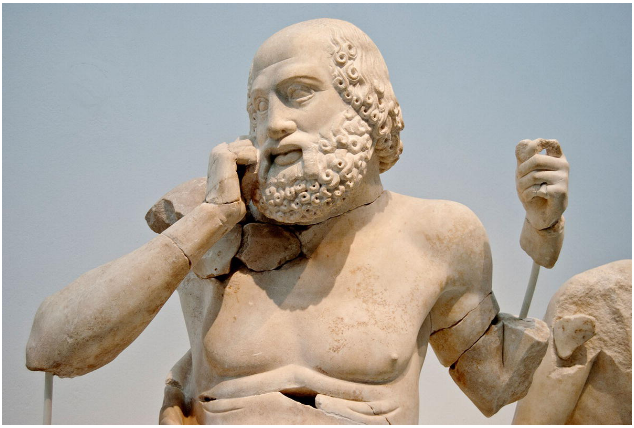

Figure 6.3 Olympia, Temple of Zeus. East Pediment. Figure N: Seer. Olympia, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 460. H. 4′ 6″ (1.38 m).

Source: © Nicola De Carlo/Alamy.

Different versions of the myth, however, disagree on who cheated and how. In the more common, and more scurrilous, account Pelops bribes Oenomaus' charioteer Myrtilos to replace the metal linchpins of the chariot wheels with wax, which sends the king to his death. Pelops reneges on his promise, casts the charioteer into the Alpheus, and the latter, as he drowns, calls down a curse on Pelops' progeny and thus the house of Atreus. In the more heroic version recounted in Pindar's first Olympian Ode (476), thus documented earlier than the other, Pelops wins by virtue of his own divine horses, provided by Poseidon. The crime and curse therefore disappear, but even in the Pindaric version both competitors actually cheat, minimally at least, by using what each knows to be a divinely furnished advantage.

Scholars worry much about which myth is represented in this pediment, but in either case the foreboding mood is appropriate, because in either case someone is going to die. The theme here is, as on the Siphnian Treasury, divine justice exemplified by Zeus and the tragic consequences that follow transgressions of cosmic order. Moreover, the games themselves, as a microcosm of human existence, depend not only on individual exertion and inherent virtue, but also on adherence to rules and respect for authority. What is especially Classical here is the narrative by subtle suggestion that relies on the experience and knowledge of the viewer. Moreover, the well-known foundation myth is presented in an atmosphere that invokes an inversion of the very rules that the sanctuary's institutions embrace. It is impossible to say, but it is tempting to conclude that the designer of this scene references no one version of the myth but deliberately exploits the semiotic play among them all. As in the works of relativist philosophers and contemporary dramatists, there are no simple answers to difficult questions. Even heroes struggle under the competing pressures of moral rectitude, political responsibility, divinely sanctioned fate, and practical expediency. There are ends and there are means; one makes up his own mind, and in the final act, the god hands down judgment.

The **Centauromachy** in the West Pediment is stylistically identical to the East, but the different subject allows the sculptor to explore and apply different formal devices. The poses are of course more active and the compositional groupings more complex and three dimensional. More significant is how the battle between the human and the monstrous has given the artist free reign to indulge in startling contrasts of characterization. The human figures and anthropomorphic god at center are mostly placid, even impassive, despite the physical violence in which they are embroiled (Figure 6.4). Their aspect differs starkly from that of the formalized and animalistic treatment of the centaurs (Figure 6.5). The boy is rendered with smooth cheeks and placid expression; only a slight wrinkle of his nose and forehead admit the pain of his predicament. The sharply lined, masklike face of the centaur is completely different; the sense of disorder extends to his wildly wavy hair and beard, quite unlike the boy's orderly pattern of snail-shell curls. The style here underscores the theme; the centaurs violate the norms of acceptable behavior, while the human figures stand for restraint and control. Yet the centaurs are only half-beasts; they stand not for an external threat to social order but for the will to uncontrolled behavior within each individual. Their beastly acts are prompted by mind-altering wine, which functions similarly in human society and stands metaphorically for any suspension of **sophrosyne** (prudent restraint) resulting from carnal excess. A more patently political meaning might reference internecine conflicts among the Greek city-states, or the classes within them – a more fluid definition of self and other than that of hero and monster or of Hellene and barbarian, and one that comes even more to the fore in the second half of the century.

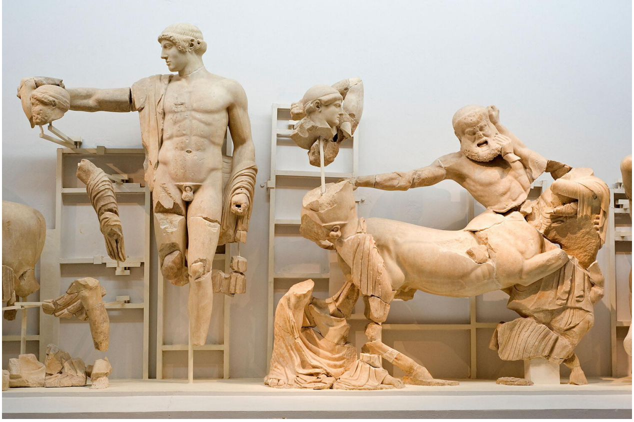

Figure 6.4 Olympia, Temple of Zeus. West Pediment. Figure L: Apollo. Olympia, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 460. H. 10′ 2″ (3.1 m).

Source: © Hemis/Alamy.

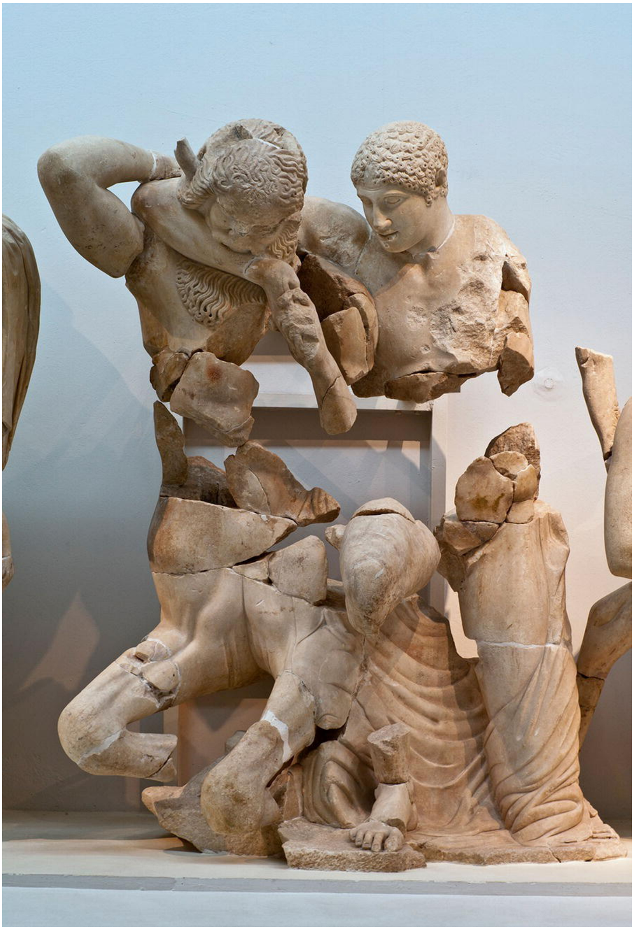

Figure 6.5 Olympia, Temple of Zeus. West Pediment. Figures P, Q: Centaur and Youth. Olympia, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 460. H. 6′ 9″ (2.05 m).

Source: © Erin Babnik/Alamy.

But which Centauromachy is it, and why is it here? Pausanias identifies the dominant youth at center as Perithous, the Lapith king and friend to Theseus, whom he identifies in the axe-wielding figure to the viewer's right. Opposite him is the Lapith Caineus, striding left from center in a slashing motion that is a direct quote of the Athenian Harmodius. Pausanias thus took this to be the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, the most famous of the several Centauromachies known from Greek mythology. A fight broke out at the wedding of Perithous when the neighboring centaurs imbibed excessively and sought to make off with some young women and boys. There followed a pitched battle, but the pediment shows the first stage of hostilities. The Lapith Centauromachy will become by far the most common version of the story after the middle of the fifth century, so it is natural that Pausanias would have read the scene in this way. He is in any case not correct about the central figure, which, from its scale, location, and style must represent a god, all but certainly Apollo. Neither this god's connection with the Centauromachy, nor the Centauromachy's with Olympia, is immediately obvious, but Apollo should stand here for the orderly norms of Olympian-sanctioned human civilization, a socially conditioned moderation that was at the heart of Classical humanism. He serves as a lieutenant, of sorts, to his father, the cosmic judge Zeus, whose temple this is. Given the specificity of the East Pediment, one might hope for a clearer connection at West as well. If one rejects Pausanias' identification altogether, it is possible to propose in its place the Centauromachy that broke out at the wedding hosted by Dexamenus, king of Elis. Among the guests was Heracles, who, according to Pindar, re-founded the Olympic games years after their institution by his ancestor Pelops. Neither identification can be proven, especially since no attributes are preserved to identify Theseus, Heracles, or any other protagonists, and the themes and principles that underlie all versions of the myth relate closely, and similarly, to the greater program of the temple.

Whether or not Heracles did battle in the West Pediment, he most assuredly did so in the metopes, of which Pausanias lists the subjects, or at least most of them. He describes first those over the **pronaos**, moving on then to the opisthodomos; the last mentioned is the first labor (the Nemean Lion), so the sequence must have begun on the back and concluded at the front. The order of arrangement, assuming that what Pausanias saw was original, was different from that thought to have been the regular one, in which the first six labors were located in the Peloponnese and the final six were increasingly difficult and increasingly remote, culminating in Heracles' crossing the threshold of mortal existence to retrieve Cerberus from Hades. Pausanias does not mention this episode (which *is* represented), but rather gives prominent last mention to the cleaning of Augeas' stables. While Eurystheus was unimpressed (he said it did not count as a labor because Heracles was paid), the labor was of great local importance not only for its Elean location but because it was on completion of this labor that Heracles re-founded the Olympic festival.

The metopes connect closely with the pediments stylistically as well as thematically. Eight show the hero in an active pose, at the height of contest with monster or beast and once confronting the Tyrinthian king himself. As befits both the hero and the action, Heracles is muscular, his anatomy clearly defined; his physique is broad, powerful, and square, its structure a rectilinear pattern of horizontals, verticals, and diagonals intersecting at right angles (Figure 6.6). The compositions are varied, but many include strong diagonals that push the action to the corners of the nearly square field; profile and frontal views are used, outlines are eloquent, and the pictorial narrative has clarity. Like the West Pediment, these eight metopes produce, through dynamic interaction and stylistic contrasts, a violent immediacy in the conflict between hero and beast.

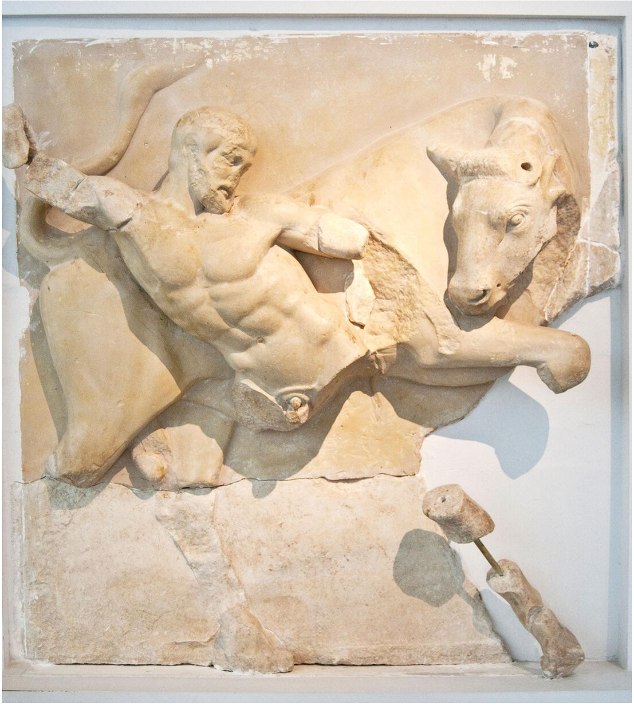

Figure 6.6 Olympia, Temple of Zeus. Metope. Heracles and the Cretan Bull. Olympia, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 460. H. 5′ 3″ (1.6 m).

Source: © Nicola De Carlo/Alamy.

The other four metopes employ a more suggestive narrative strategy, like the Oenomaus scene (Figures 6.7 and 6.8). These mostly show a quiet moment after, or significant point of pause during, the execution of a labor. Athena is present in these alone, in an assisting, or simply approving, role for her favored hero, a relationship well documented in Archaic Athens. She never takes more than a minor role in the action – directing with a gesture the cleaning of the stables, or as a "spotter" for Heracles as he struggles under the weight of the world. The details of her depiction vary. She is usually shown with a single attribute; only on the important Augean stables metope is she more fully decked out with helmet, shield and spear. Her garment is similarly varied. Always the Classical peplos, it is at times girded, at other times not. When she stands, it is with a slight weight shift, and the heavy folds of the peplos look much as they do on the garments of the similarly posed Sterope and Hippodamaea.

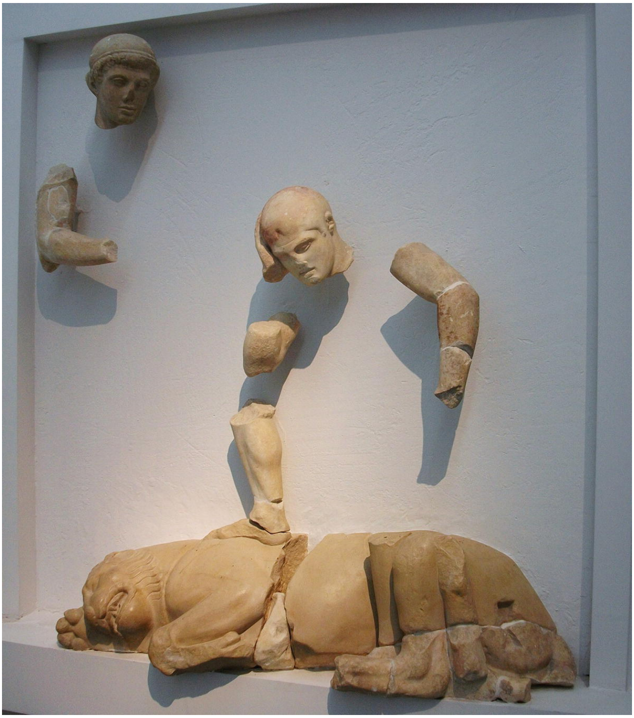

Figure 6.7 Olympia, Temple of Zeus. Metope. Heracles and the Nemean Lion. Olympia, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 460. H. 5′ 3″ (1.6 m).

Source: Olympia, Archaeological Museum.

Source: joanbanjo, http://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:M%C3%A8topa_del_temple_de_Zeus_d%27Ol%C3%ADmpia_amb_representaci%C3%B3_d%27H%C3%A8racles_i_el_lle%C3%B3_de_Nemea_(Museu_Arqueol%C3%B2gic_d%27Ol%C3%ADmpia).jpg. Used under CC-BY-SA3.0.

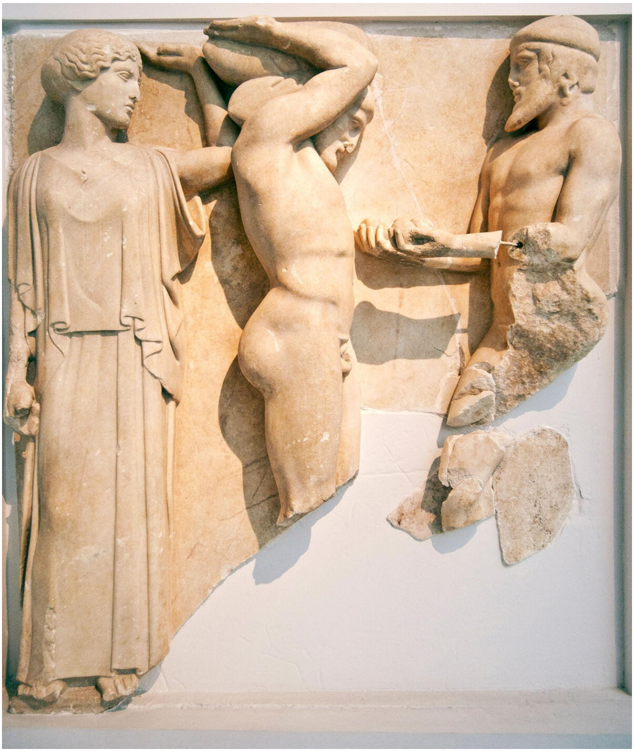

Figure 6.8 Olympia, Temple of Zeus. Metope. Athena, Heracles, and Atlas. Olympia Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 460. H. 5′ 3″ (1.6 m).

Source: © Nicola De Carlo/Alamy.

These metopes contain carefully conceived narrative details that rival the pedimental seers in their subtle signification. Heracles stands with his foot atop the slain Nemean lion, but he is far from the all-vanquishing hero. His elbow rests on his knee, his head on his hand. His downcast face bears a slight wrinkle on its forehead. Here originates the motif of the weary Heracles, so popular in Hellenistic and Roman times (Figure 14.4). However, the later version is understood as near the end of his dozen labors. On the Olympia metope he still has 11 to go, a fact that is reinforced by the absence here, alone among the metopes, of Heracles' beard. His countenance suggests a passage of time still to come; he is youthful, he is exhausted, and he has only begun.

Similar narrative technique can be seen on the Atlas metope. The goddess and Titan stand quietly, the latter with an exaggerated weight shift that perhaps reflects the magnitude of the burden from which he is (temporarily) relieved. That he holds forth the apples to Heracles identifies the story; the rendering of Heracles narrates it. He strives mightily to bear his burden; not much earlier, figures in an identical pose were used as architectural supports for another temple to Olympian Zeus, built around this time at Sicilian Acragas; the Greeks called such elements *atlantes*, or Atlases. The cushion on his shoulder references the remainder of the episode. Heracles offered to relieve Atlas of his load while the giant went to retrieve the apples of the Hesperides. Only on Atlas' return did it dawn on him not to resume his onerous task, and Heracles convinced him to do so only so long as Heracles would need to arrange a cushion on his shoulders. The cleverer Heracles then simply departed, returning to Eurystheus with the apples and leaving Atlas to his eternal duty. This is something like a synoptic narrative, seen already at Corcyra, which combines two separate stages in a story and relies on an already familiar viewer to construct the narrative. This cushion, however, cannot represent a separate stage of the story since it never existed, making the narrative here more sophisticated still.

Athena's presence, then, implies Heracles' ability to discharge ostensibly impossible tasks both through his superhuman strength and by a cleverness that she, as goddess of wisdom, both exemplifies and bestows. Heracles' significance resides in his status as an intermediary between the mortal and the divine realms. He committed a crime, was punished by servitude, and, by accomplishing these labors, was able to both expiate his sins and achieve immortality. His inclusion at Olympia results from his obvious connections to Zeus and the history of the cult and, equally, his stature as a model of athletic prowess. What makes the program specifically Classical is the humanistic treatment of his accomplishments. He strives and develops, over a long period of time, much as a mortal must do. While no human could emulate his physical prowess, one might, with divine assistance, be comparably clever and determined.

The metopes reprise the themes of the pediments. Each connects in obvious ways with the sanctuary itself. Most overt and specific are the foundation myths of Heracles and Pelops, but broader concepts pervade as well. Throughout are scenes of struggle and achievement, competition and victory. The Lapiths and Centaurs have been compared to wrestlers, and the entire program read as referencing specifically the heroic and agonistic aspect of Olympia, where victory in the gymnasium and on the battlefield had long been conflated. One recent reading along these lines sees, with Pindar, even the East Pedimental subject as a positive model of competition. However, as seen elsewhere, architectural sculpture blends the local with the universal (often inextricably) and more wide-ranging themes are here as well. The gods were all powerful; the dominating presence of Zeus, Apollo, and Athena as judge, guide, and mentor makes this clear enough. Yet one's own actions *do* matter. The gods willing, the mortal who displays sophrosyne, lives a virtuous and moderate life according to the norms of his society, and strives for excellence in realizing his responsibilities to **oikos** (household) and polis alike, can be confident of achieving the ostensibly impossible, as did the apotheosized Heracles, and, similarly, the heroic victors of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. This elevation of individual *aretē* is artfully and repeatedly illustrated for us in epinician poetry. The roles and responsibilities of the individual in society, which takes on weightier presence with the increasingly democratic institutions of the time, played out with equal eloquence and passion in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles, whose careers overlapped at just this time period.

What, then, of Panhellenism? This *was* a Panhellenic sanctuary; Heracles was a Panhellenic hero; Zeus was king of the Olympians; Apollo personified a Hellenic culture that was becoming increasingly consistent across the Greek world. Yet, the historical circumstances of this building suggest something else – a world divided into two camps, Ionian and Dorian, within each of which there were as many lines of fracture as there were separate poleis. Since identity was constructed locally, these values and principles *could* have Panhellenic applicability, but they did not always or necessarily do so. A sense of local identity and independence was a core characteristic of Greek society, inscribed into the very topography of the region; it was a form of individualism, or communal humanism, that gave birth to the competitive, aspirational rationalism from which Greek culture was forged. In other words, the forces pushing the Greek city-states apart were as intrinsic and as compelling as those pulling them together, probably more so. As we have consistently seen, and as Heraclitus so succinctly put it, this is not a culture of stasis, but a culture of change. Regionalism and Panhellenism, like the many polarities of the Greek world, did not exist as separate options but were mutually defined; one could not exist without the other. Where society stood within this polarity determined, and was determined by, current political realities. Thus the apparent contradiction between the themes of this temple and its historical context are not an inconsistency at all, but an accurate reflection of the larger world in which it was erected.

The Impact of Olympia: Panhellenism and Early Classical Style

As it happens, the Zeus temple, and the style it exemplifies, had its own impact on this larger world. A primary defining feature of Early Classical sculptural style is its remarkable uniformity across the Mediterranean. This trend to elide differences among local schools is often explained in terms of post-Persian Panhellenism, but equally important is the relative paucity of architectural sculpture in the years 480–450, which no doubt elevated the role of the Zeus temple as a training ground for sculptors and accounts for the broad dissemination of its style. The Parthenon will serve much the same role a generation later, but for now Athens is the recipient of, as much as a source for, stylistic influence. The first temple built there after the withdrawal of the Persians was begun, based on archaeological evidence, some three decades after that retreat. The best-preserved temple in Greece, its main modifications (removal of much of its cella interior) result from its transformation into a church of St George, which ensured that it would stand from antiquity to the present. Throughout most of this history, it has been known as the Theseum, but it is generally, although not universally, taken to be the temple to Hephaestus and Athena, divine progenitors (of sorts) of the Athenians themselves.

This “Hephaesteum” has a Doric 6 × 13 peristyle, like the temple at Olympia, but its length and width are only half as great, its columns slenderer and entablature lighter. It is built entirely in Pentelic marble, aside from architectural sculptures in Parian; these include some fragmentary pedimental and acroterial sculptures of disputed origin, and 18 carved metopes, all of which remain on the temple. These were placed not, as at Olympia, over the porches (where friezes were added in the 420s, discussed in Chapter 9), but on the peristyle, as on the Athenian Treasury, with which they also share subject matter – the labors of Theseus and Heracles. Here, however, the Athenian hero is relegated to the sides (the easternmost four at north and south), while the ten on the east façade are dedicated to the hero of the Peloponnese. If the Archaic building was primarily devoted to promoting the Athenian hero, here the co-option of the Panhellenic moves to center stage. The manipulation of Dorian, Ionian, and Panhellenic identity detected in the late Archaic treasury is surely still in play on this Classical temple, but its implications, here as perhaps also at Olympia, would be much more pointed in the 450s than in 490.

While the architecture and iconography seem to follow Attic precedents, the style of the metopes is very close to that of the much larger Olympia reliefs; the two sets are no more than a few years apart, and the same hands may have been at work on both (Figure 6.9). There is a similar mix of scenes of violent confrontation and quieter compositions, with a contrappostal nude hero in the presence of a draped Athena. The figures here are slenderer, but the strong articulation and rectilinear patterns of anatomy are strikingly similar, as is the use of clearly expressive, if somewhat mannered and artificial, figural outlines in the more active poses. Although they were not placed nearly so high as at Olympia, their small scale necessitates clarity of composition, and the effect of both intelligibility and artificiality recall such works as the Artemision Zeus and the Discobolus of Myron (Figure 8.1), both datable to around 460–450.

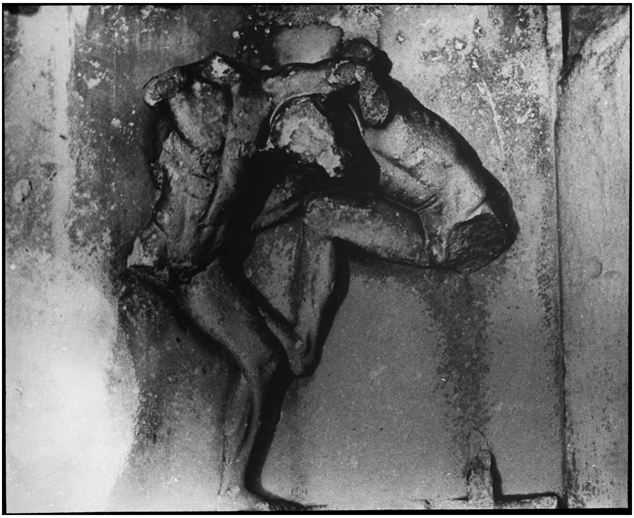

Figure 6.9 Metope from Hephaesteum, Athens. Marble. Athens. Circa 450. H. 2′ 1″ (0.63 m). *In situ.*

Source: Bryn Mawr College.

From around the same time is a relief from the Acropolis with Athena leaning on a spear, gazing at a stele (Figure 6.10). Her apparently somber pose and expression suggest the nickname “Mourning Athena,” but the provenience indicates a votive, not funerary function. She has been said to be studying a list of Athenian dead from the Persian wars or contemplating the ruins of her sanctuary, but these interpretations assume both that such a modern reading of the mood agrees with the ancient and that the relief dates soon after 480. The latter is inferred from her similarity to Euenor’s Athena; each wears the heavy Doric peplos with simple fold pattern, and each stands with the weight shifted to one leg, one hand on the weight-bearing hip and the other holding a spear. However, the similarities end there; the Athena in the relief rests her weight heavily on the foreground leg, the other foot barely touching the ground and considerably retracted, resembling poses that become common only around mid-century. Moreover, while her hairstyle is very simple (yet purely Classical), her facial features are far more delicate than those of earliest Classical work. The smooth contours of her face and outline of her chin resemble the Olympia sculptures, but her mouth is less heavy, approaching the “rosebud lips” of the Parthenon. A date around 460 or after seems likely.

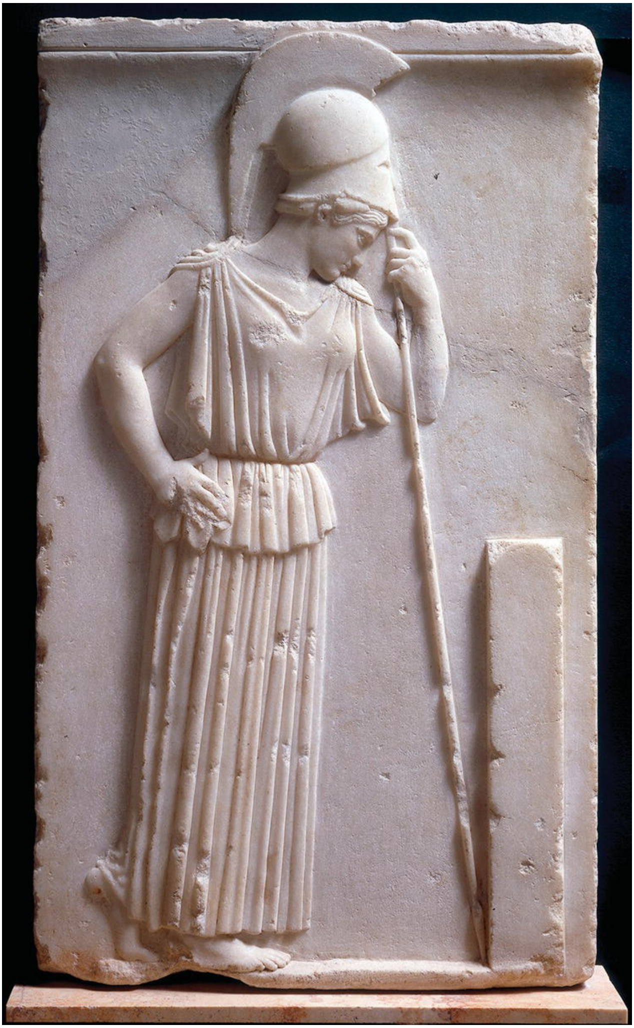

Figure 6.10 Relief with Athena from Acropolis. Athens, Acropolis Museum 695. Marble. Circa 460. H. 1′ 7″ (0.48 m).

Source: akg-images/Nimatallah.

The style of Olympia is also encountered on the Penelope statue type, long known from Roman sculptured versions and comparable figures on vases, reliefs, and engraved gems (Figure 6.11). A statue of this this type unearthed at Persepolis in 1945 must be Classical since Alexander destroyed the palace in 330. It was not available to the Romans for copying, so there must have been multiple Classical "originals" or variants. The identity as Odysseus' wife comes from a labeled representation on an engraved gem, and a similar figure on a fifth-century red-figure vase sits before her loom awaiting the return of her husband, who is depicted on the other side of the vase. Penelope, as restored, sits on a wool basket with her head on her right hand, which may have held a spindle. The pose, as well as the interest in revealing inner moods and thoughts through gesture, is familiar from Olympia. Aristotle (*Poetics* 6), moreover, relates that the contemporary master of narrative wall painting, Polygnotus of Thasos, was renowned for the noble character with which he could imbue his subjects. Across all media, then, not only in architectural sculpture, statuary, wall-painting, and vase-painting, but also the in tragedies of Aeschylus and, even more so now, Sophocles, one can clearly detect the desire to explore an individual's character and inner thoughts, especially in response to trying events and situations.

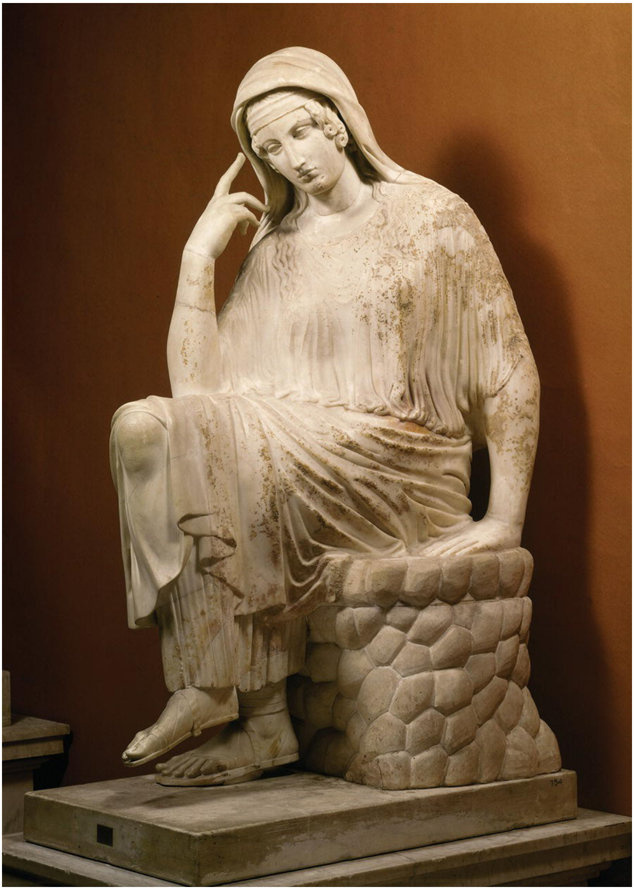

Figure 6.11 Penelope. Marble copy of original Circa 460–450. Vatican City, Vatican Museums 754. H. 3′ 9″ (1.15 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence.

It is in fact possible that the figural type was originally created for a wall painting, perhaps an unmentioned episode within the several scenes of the exploits of the hero that Polygnotus himself is known to have depicted. The composition of the figure is extremely flat, clearly best seen from a particular viewpoint; while this is a general feature of Early Classical statuary, it could also suggest a painted prototype. In this case it is just possible that the Roman versions followed such a painting and not a sculptured model. Alternatively, it has been suggested that the original was a bronze sculpture by Polygnotus, whom Pliny (*NH* 34.85) mentions as a practitioner of the craft. The marble of the piece in Teheran is said to be Thasian, and, it is argued, that version may have been carved as a gift to the Great King by the Thasians, whose loyalty to the Delian League was not strong, especially after the violent suppression of their attempted withdrawal in 465. Pliny (*NH* 35.58–59) also says both that Polygnotus modified the stiffness of facial expression seen in earlier works (the development that prompted Aristotle's observation) and that he was the first to show women in transparent garments. This comment likely references such modeling folds as we see on this particular figure. The garment is not the thick peplos seen at Olympia, but a thin chiton that flows gracefully along her torso, over which she wears a heavy mantle covering her head and wrapped around her legs. One can see the meticulously rendered buttoning of the chiton at her arms and shoulders. The folds of this garment are much thinner than those of the heavier peplos, and they curve to outline the contours of her breasts, but they are still very doughy and substantial, like those on the Olympia figures. The effect is diaphanous only if compared with earlier work; later sculptors will carve the fabric into virtual non-existence.

The style spread to the west as well. The last temple with sculptured metopes erected at Selinus dates from just this time, circa 460–450, and illustrates the dissemination of Olympian forms in an unusual way. This temple (E) to Hera has affinities to the Zeus temple in its comparable scale; it is slightly narrower but longer, with a 6 × 15 peristyle necessitated by the inclusion of both a typically western Greek **adyton** and the **opisthodomus** characteristic of mainland temples. Its proportions are heavy, as at Olympia, but the most obvious borrowing is the placement of its 12 metopes, six each above the two porches. These metopes are carved entirely in the same local limestone as the temple itself, except that the unclothed parts (head, arms, hands, feet) of the female figures are carved from island marble and inset into the limestone bodies. Piecing statuary from different materials, as in acrolithic or chryselephantine techniques, becomes increasingly common in Classical times, but there is nothing else quite like this in architectural sculpture. One can postulate economy in the use of imported stone, but equally likely is the conscious desire to create contrasting effects of color and luminosity not only between skin and drapery but also between male and female flesh.

An even more intriguing contrast in these reliefs is stylistic, since the sculptors freely mix fully up-to-date Severe-style forms with Archaic, or more properly, Archaizing mannerisms. In the metope with Zeus and Hera (Figure 6.12), for example, the goddess stands with her weight firmly planted on the right leg, her left flexed and flat footed, her feet distinctly skew. Her drapery, however, abounds with formalized zigzags, parallel pleats, and even an Archaizing border running diagonally across her chest. The wrapped mantle of her consort is similarly mannerist. Hera's facial features are identical in style to those of the Olympia figures; Zeus' head is a virtual quote of the bronze god from Artemision. Since both are from around 460, there is no chronological difference in the styles of the marble and limestone heads, so the stylistic mixing cannot be attributed to the different stones.

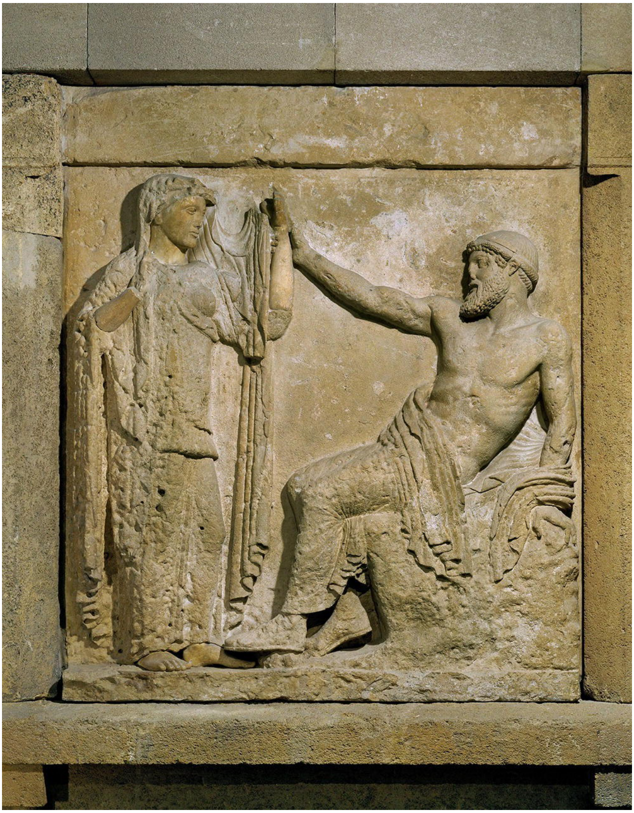

Figure 6.12 Selinus, Temple E. Metope with Zeus and Hera. Palermo, Archaeological Museum. Limestone and marble. Circa 460. H. 5′ 4″ (1.62 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

The metope depicting the death of Actaeon is similar (Figure 6.13); Artemis, although she wears an early Classical chiton and stands with weight shift, likewise has Archaizing patterns in her drapery and a fully Olympian-style head. As Actaeon struggles to free himself from her hounds, he stands in the pose of the tyrannicide Harmodius; his hairstyle is that of the Critian Boy, which would be somewhat Archaizing by the 450s. On another metope Heracles, with the hairstyle of Harmodius, grasps the head of the Amazon queen, striding vigorously forth like Aristogiton. The Amazon's chitoniskos ends in a series of Archaizing swallowtails. The stylistic developments of the mainland have fully penetrated the repertoire of the sculptors of South Italy and Sicily, although they are at times employed there in a more selective manner, as something here causes artists to abandon the formalized less emphatically than did artists further east.

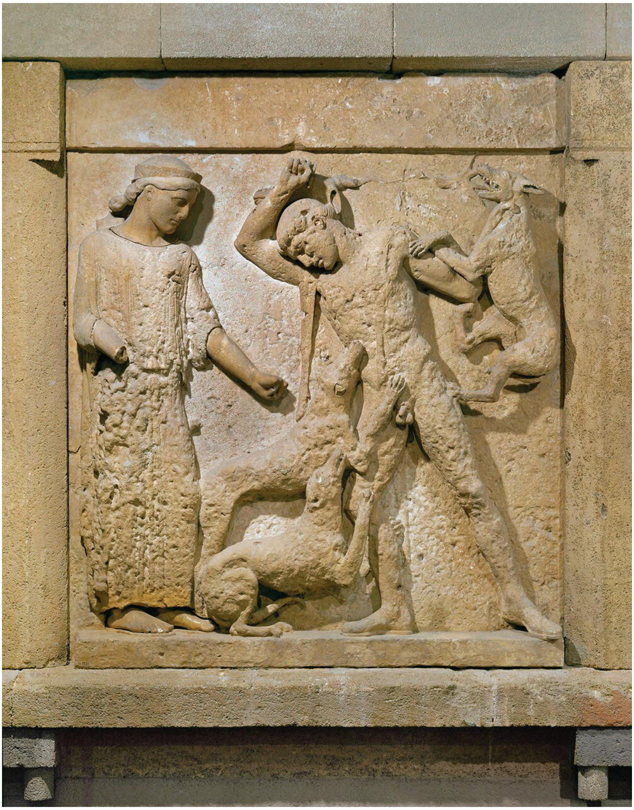

Figure 6.13 Selinus, Temple E. Metope with Artemis and Actaeon. Palermo, Archaeological Museum. Limestone and marble. Circa 460. H. 5′ 4″ (1.62 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

One sees this as well in a final, and peculiar, work – a draped youth carved from Parian marble, found in 1979 on the Phoenician island of Motya, off Sicily's western promontory (Figure 6.14). There is much disagreement about the identity of this figure, whether a portrait or the image of a god or hero. Nor is it agreed whether its artist, patron, or original location was Punic or Greek. Some degree of consensus has emerged on it being a charioteer – a western Greek victory monument taken as booty by the Carthaginians. Such victories are documented or surmised for several such contests from the late 480s to the early 460s, although these dates may be just a little early for the style of the statue. The identification rests heavily on the assumption that the long tunic, bound tightly by a strap tied around his chest, is appropriate to a charioteer, although the arrangement is unparalleled and entirely different from the shoulder cords of the Delphi bronze. A suggestion that it is a dancer raising its right arm to support a large object on its head (for which there are attachment holes) has much to commend it, since it best explains the seemingly anachronistic naturalism and animation of the pose.

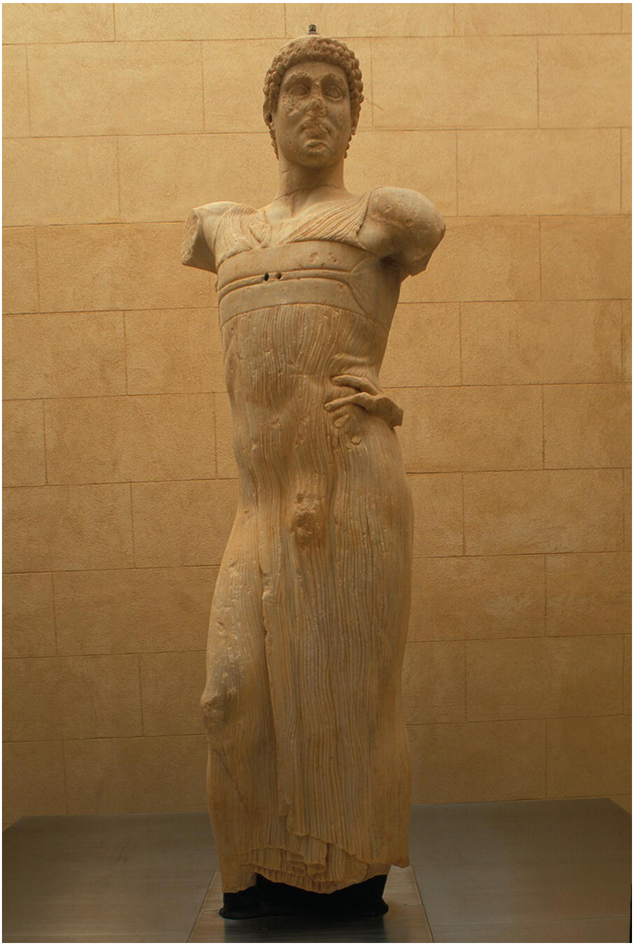

Figure 6.14 Marble youth (charioteer?) from Motya. Mozia, Whittaker Museum. Marble. Circa 460? H. 5′ 4″ (1.61 m).

Source: akg-images/Alfio Garozzo.

Archaeological evidence places it before 397, the date of a

Syracusan sack of Motya, but its style is difficult to pin down. Most place it in the Early Classical period, primarily on the style of its head. Rows of snail-shell curls run continuously around the smooth cranium, which may have had a hair pattern added in paint and/or stucco. The arrangement recalls that of the Late Archaic Aristodicus. His face, with its smooth contours, heavy mouth and chin, and thick eyelids recalls Early Classical work on the mainland, although there is more interest here in articulating the cheekbones and a fleshier treatment at the corners of the mouth. The weight shift with hand resting on hip we have seen before, but the free leg is far more emphatically displaced than on known Early Classical works, and with his with head and shoulders facing (proper) left and hips turned to face right, the implied torsion is greater than that seen even in late fifth-century works. On the basis of these comparisons, the work has been seen as the product of an Attic sculptor, but such an attribution ignores the striking differences.

Its folds have the plastic quality seen at Olympia but are fine and revealing rather than broad and concealing, much more so than Penelope's; lines of drapery are anything but parallel, endlessly diverging and converging to describe in detail the projections and recessions of the underlying body with a sensitivity to the substance of both cloth and skin not seen before the Parthenon pediments of the 430s, if then. A conspicuous example is the depth to which the left hand presses into the hip, implying softness not merely in the fabric but in the underlying flesh as well. This play in contrasts between surface and substructure, between what is concealed and what is revealed, has behind it (and ahead of it) a long tradition in Greek sculpture. Recent scholarship has connected this artistic fascination with the Greek conception of the statue as a container for the numinous and philosophical speculation about inner and outer beauty, body and spirit. Other interpretations focus on the implied sexuality of revealing by concealing, as paralleled in contemporary poetry. Its blending of Classical and mannerist forms has caused some to note similarities with the metopes of Temple E at Selinus, a western Sicilian site with a strong Punic connection, but the work on this statue is far more complex and sophisticated, looking forward as much as backward, incorporating or anticipating stylistic features that do not become common until much later. If this is an Early Classical work, its creator adopted some, but not all, defining features of that style as it occurs in Olympia and Attica; what deviates from this norm appears driven by a will to naturalistic representation uncharacteristic of, or at least in excess of, what is seen in most Greek art of the time. As yet there is nothing else quite like its combination of Archaic and Early Classical with High, even Late Classical features; it may reflect a school of sculpture the existence of which we would otherwise not even suspect. Whether the work was western, as suggested by its provenance and peculiarity, or eastern, as suggested by its material, it remains an enigma; the similarities and differences it shows with works from Athens, for example, or Olympia, complicates, if not confounds, the very concept of Panhellenism.

7

Classical Moment I: The Parthenon, Pericles, and the Power of Persuasion (circa 450–430)

> For this reason are the works of Pericles all the more to be wondered at; they were created in a short time for all time. Each one of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once antique; but in the freshness of its vigor it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought. Such is the bloom of perpetual newness, as it were, upon these works of his, which makes them ever to look untouched by time, as though the unfaltering breath of an ageless spirit had been infused into them.
>
> Plutarch, *Pericles* 13.1.1–3; tr. Perrin 41.

Organic models of stylistic development, structured around a point of perfect "bloom" preceded and followed by periods of achievement and decline, are not a recent invention. Nearly two millennia have passed since Plutarch expressed the paradoxical perception of Athens' achievements in the time of Pericles as both momentary and timeless. Plutarch's eloquence, moreover, displays the importance of rhetorical theory and practice among the Greek aristocracy of his time, the impact of which is equally clear in his historical vision, which emphasizes the role of great individuals, and method, which compares and contrasts the "parallel lives" of eminent Greeks and Romans. Indeed, in antiquity the organic scheme of sculptural development is a trope found less in the writings of periegetes such as Pausanias or encyclopedists such as Pliny than in rhetorical analogists such as Quintilian and Cicero, who outlined parallel progressions in both visual and verbal arts (see box to Chapter 8).

As Plutarch knew well, this Periclean era of perfection in the visual arts was a time when oratory was coming into its own. Rhetoric, like art, emerges from the very nature and values of Greek society – inquisitive and rational, but also individualistic, competitive, and ambitious. Personal advancement in such participatory societies required persuasive skill. Even Pericles' authority, as long lasting and compelling as it was, was situated in his ability to sway the assembly. Thus there arose in Classical Greece a market for effective rhetorical training, a demand that was met by the **sophists**, professional instructors in oratory who were steeped in and drew from the traditions of reason and argument laid out by the Pre-Socratic philosophers. The increasing importance of persuasion in the Periclean era is equally reflected in the *Histories* of Thucydides (circa 460–395), who came of age at this time. While the main subject of his account – the war of 431–404 – will engage us more fully in later chapters, his narrative technique and historical themes were deeply influenced by the figure and times of Pericles. Most obvious is the prominent role of speeches in his history, especially but not exclusively those of Pericles himself, which stand today as among our most vivid *exempla* of Classical persuasive technique. So too is the historian's own literary method; what the historian tells us and fails to tell us, as well as his timing and juxtaposition of events, is deeply rhetorical in nature, despite his claims to be presenting a factual, unbiased account. Not surprising, therefore, is the strikingly rhetorical quality in the art of the time, especially in the architectural sculpture of public works such as temples. Increasingly patent political programs can be detected in the scenes of myth selected for display on Archaic and Early Classical religious structures. If, accepting the organic construction in Plutarch's account, we expect its culmination among Periclean works on the Athenian Acropolis, we shall not be disappointed.

The Building of the Parthenon

Whether or not Pericles, when he summoned the Greek states in 449 to consider the rebuilding of monuments destroyed by the Persians, expected them to come, their refusal left the Athenians free to do what they wished, and the recent transfer of the Delian League treasury to Athens provided the resources. It was during the next two decades, preceding the outbreak of major hostilities between the Delian and Peloponnesian alliances in 431, that the Periclean building program, so eloquently described by Plutarch, was pursued in earnest. Two of its four primary components were built at that time, each replacing a structure begun after Marathon and destroyed in 480. The elaborate gateway – the Propylaea (437–432) – bore no sculptured decoration. Its main functions were to mark the boundary between sacred and profane, control access to the sanctuary, and frame one's initial view of the great temple crowning the hilltop – one which was more fully decked out with sculpture than any Greek building before or since, the one that we know as the Parthenon (Figure 7.1).

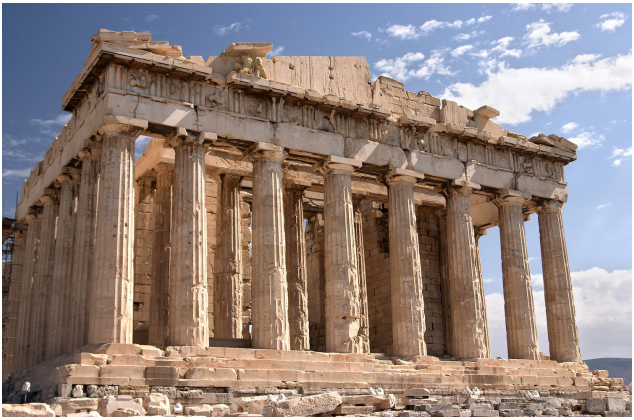

Figure 7.1 Athens, Acropolis. View of Parthenon. 447–432.

Source: © Andrey Grinyov/Dreamstime.com.

Work on both buildings finished in 432, but the temple was begun in 447, a full decade before the gate. Such specific dates result from the high level of accountability in Athenian democracy. Acts of the assembly that were inscribed in stone and displayed in public include allocations of funds for materials and labor needed for building projects; from the Parthenon accounts an unusually detailed sequence of construction can be inferred. Quarrying of stone and laying of foundations began in 447; by 443 the colonnade was erected, and in 438, when the building was dedicated, the cella, ceilings, and roof were in place and the cult statue installed; worked continued for six more years. This information allows a reliable sequencing of the sculptures. The metopes would have been carved first, before the cornice was placed atop the peristyle frieze; probably around 442. The frieze blocks on the **sekos** (internal structure including both cellas and porches) walls were in place well before 438, when the considerable portion above it was completed; carving on the frieze could have been done *in situ*, and probably was. Pediments and acroteria, since they were applied to rather than integrated within the fabric of the building, were carved and installed after 438, precisely those years when the stonemasons and builders moved on to the Propylaea.

These building accounts call their subject "the temple" (*ho naos*); only later is it called "Parthenon," "Hekatompedon," or "Hekatompedon Parthenon." It is generally believed that the first term refers to the western cella and that the second, used for the eastern cella, also invokes a postulated mid-Archaic predecessor, discussed in chapter four. The term Parthenon ("of the *parthenoi* (virgins)") is problematic. Although "*Parthenos*" as an epithet for Athena is found (although not common) in early fifth-century Acropolis inscriptions, the existence of a *cult* of Athena Parthenos is inferred entirely from the name of this building. Moreover, the Parthenon has no associated altar, and no priestess for such a cult is ever mentioned, so some assert that it is not a temple at all, but an elaborate treasury, and it did in fact serve as such. The name "Parthenon" could have extended to the whole (the building) from the part (the western room), where it might have referenced her virginal status, or the maiden **arrhephoroi** who helped weave the Panathenaic peplos, or the cults of the virgin daughters of early Athenian kings, mentioned in the extant fragments of Euripides' *Erechtheus*. The building has also been seen as a kind of auxiliary temple to, and thus sharing an altar and priestess with, that of Athena Polias, whose venerable wooden image was kept further north, first in the *archaios naos* and later in the Erechtheum. All these possibilities are used to support, and mostly derive from, the various interpretations of its sculptures.

Whether or not there was a sixth-century predecessor, the Parthenon of Pericles did replace an earlier marble building, probably begun after Marathon, the remains of which include its foundations and platform, as well as parts of its superstructure, some of which are still visible built into the Acropolis' north wall. From the remains, a plan can be reconstructed with a 6 × 16 peristyle, two back-to-back cellas of unequal size, and **tetrastyle**

prostyle porches before the pronaos and opisthodomos. The Periclean plan accommodates three quite practical factors: replication of some basic design elements from the earlier building, reuse of its enormous platform and some blocks and drums, and the chryselephantine statue of Athena, some 40 feet high with its base, which required sufficient space for an effective visual experience (Figure 7.2). This wider cella created a temple considerably less elongated, proportionally, than the earlier structure; the ratios of length to width were 2.15 and 2.66, respectively. In this way the platform needed only to be extended in one direction, to the north, where no terracing was needed since beddings could be cut into the rock. Since the reused drums resulted in identical column diameters, there was a greater number across the façade (eight rather than six), while the lateral colonnades contained only 17, instead of the 21 that would have maintained the proportions of the earlier peristyle. The result adheres to the formula for the relationship of façade to lateral columns of $x{:}2x + 1$ seen also at Olympia and on the Hephaesteum (both 6 × 13) and consequently assumed normative for Classical temples, although there continues to be much variation. Since the temple was broader than its predecessor, it had also to be taller, and thus the columns, identical in diameter, were slenderer.

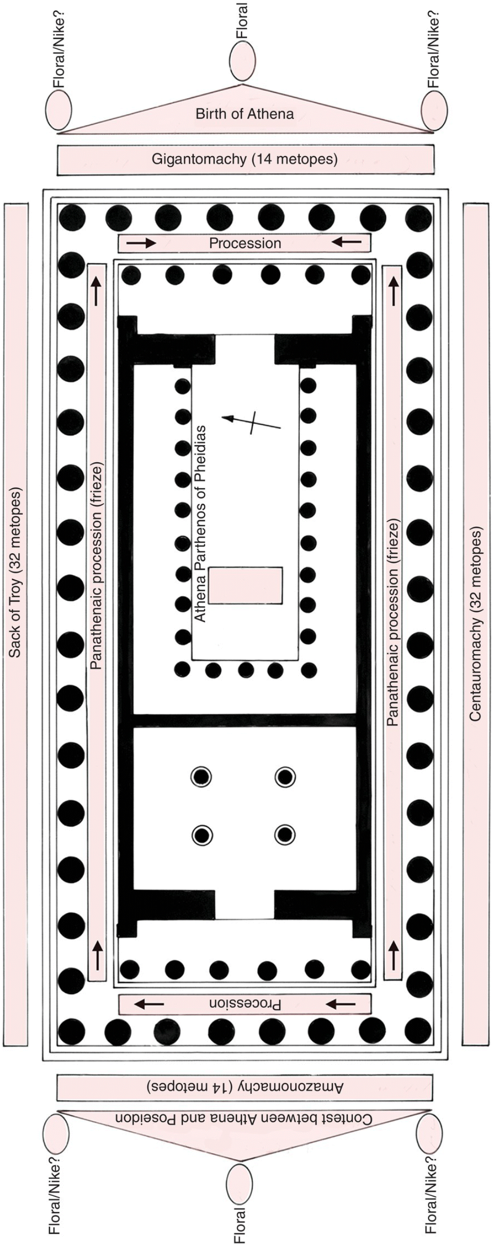
Floral/Nike?
Floral
Floral/Nike?
Birth of Athena
Gigantomachy (14 metopes)
Procession
Sack of Troy (32 metopes)
Panathenaic procession (frieze)
Athena Parthenos of Pheidias
Panathenaic procession (frieze)
Centauromachy (32 metopes)
Procession
Amazonomachy (14 metopes)
Contest between Athena and Poseidon
Floral/Nike?
Floral
Floral/Nike?

Figure 7.2 Athens, Acropolis. Plan of Parthenon. 447–432.

Source: Stewart, A., *Greek Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1990).

Therefore, the Doric Parthenon's much-noted incorporation of Ionic features was dictated at least as much by practical as by aesthetic concerns. Most elements either followed the precedents of the earlier temple or resulted from the necessity of housing the enormous statue and the efficiencies of reuse. While it is difficult not to see the Ionian elegance of the Parthenon as a deliberate response to the heavy Dorian dullness of the Zeus temple, this quality in architecture clearly preceded it not only in Athens but also at Delphi, Aigina, and the Cyclades. The Periclean Parthenon, on the other hand, took stylistic mixing a step further by employing Ionic, or perhaps even Corinthian, columns in the western cella. Distinction from the Zeus temple is further enhanced on the Parthenon by extensive and subtle use of so-called optical refinements – deviations from the rectilinear and variations in dimension that recall the organic flexibility of the Ionic order and contrast strongly with the Doric tradition of canonical consistency. On the Parthenon, the stylobate and entablature are identically curved, while all four faces of the peristyle lean inward more sharply than would be needed to compensate. Each column displays **entasis**, that is, it swells slightly as it tapers from bottom to top; the corner columns are slightly thicker than the rest. The contraction of these corner columns is exaggerated, and the irregularity is distributed across the intercolumniations, which therefore vary. Not all of these deviations are new, but nowhere were such features so extensively used as in the Parthenon, with the result that no block was a perfect geometric solid; each needed to be cut for its precise location on the building in order to join exactly with its adjoining blocks.

Vitruvius (cf. box to chapter four), who had in his possession a treatise on the Parthenon written by its architect Ictinus, tells us that such deviations were intended to correct optical illusions. For example, he says, a stylobate must be built up in the middle so that is should not appear to sag. This explanation is commonly extended to explain each deviation as a corrective – an attempt to trick the eye into seeing something regular and rectilinear. Others take the opposite view, that some are deliberately misleading, meant to make the building seem larger than it actually is. Whatever the intention behind these refinements, the resulting structure becomes an organic whole. Deviations that are perceptible, but just barely so, force the eye to follow lines meticulously, if subconsciously, in order to reconcile what is perceived with what is expected. More than any previous Greek temple, the Parthenon is attentive to the gaze of its beholder, whom it draws into its very fabric, which becomes like a living being in his mind.

Philosophers like Parmenides had actively speculated on the distinction between being and seeming, and the works of contemporaneous painters and sculptors reflect an accelerating interest in the relativity of perceptual experience (cf. box to Chapter 10). Now, a half-century later, there results an exceptionally pervasive program of refinements in the Parthenon, not only in its architecture but also its in sculptures, where they compensate for often-difficult viewpoints. This engagement of the viewer, as we have seen especially at Olympia, is not limited to a purely visual experience of comprehending form, but extends equally to the interpretive process of constructing meaning. The Parthenon sculptures, as it happens, preserve the most elaborate, extensive, and well-documented iconographic program of any from the ancient Greek world. These we shall look at twice – first, in the chronological order of their carving, with an eye to subject matter and style, and second, in the probable order of the viewer's experience, in an attempt to elicit meaning from this iconographic program, framed by the events of the time.

The Metopes

While we think of the Parthenon as a relatively intact building, owing to its continual reuse, history was less than kind in the case of the metopes. Each of the 92 exterior metopes bore sculpture, and each side had its own subject. At some point before the first modern documentation, the sculptured figures were deliberately broken from every metope on the east and west sides and all but one on the north; the south metopes were inexplicably left unharmed. Christian anti-pagan iconoclasm is most often blamed, but the selectivity of the defacement remains unexplained. A second catastrophe befell the building in 1687. The Venetians under Morosini, attempting to take the Acropolis from its Ottoman occupiers, lobbed artillery from the nearby Hill of the Muses, finally hitting the Parthenon, which held a cache of gunpowder. The explosion blew out the central section of each lateral colonnade. A final disruption occurred with the removal of the 17 best-preserved south metopes to Britain by Lord Elgin in the early nineteenth century (see box). For the east and west sides, therefore, we have little more than the scars left on the slabs, but figural types and compositions can be discerned, and the subject matter, Gigantomachy at the east and Amazonomachy at the west, is plausibly established. On similar grounds, the north series is identified as an **Iliupersis**. The well-preserved metopes at either end of the south flank show battles between humans and centaurs, surely the popular Athenian version at the wedding of Peirithous, although neither he nor his friend Theseus can be identified. Moreover, the south metopes (as well as both pediments and much of the frieze) were drawn by Jacques Carrey (aka the “Nointel Artist”) in 1674, shortly before the explosion (Figure 7.3). This evidence is crucial to any iconographic interpretation, especially since the eight metopes at center, as they were drawn then, show no clear narrative relationship to the Centauromachy scenes at either end. This central group is often thought to show a related myth concerning the genealogy and/or etiology of centaurs and/or Lapiths, in the manner of a “flashback” episode in a novel or cinematic feature; alternatively, it may depict the wedding procession at which the hostilities arose.

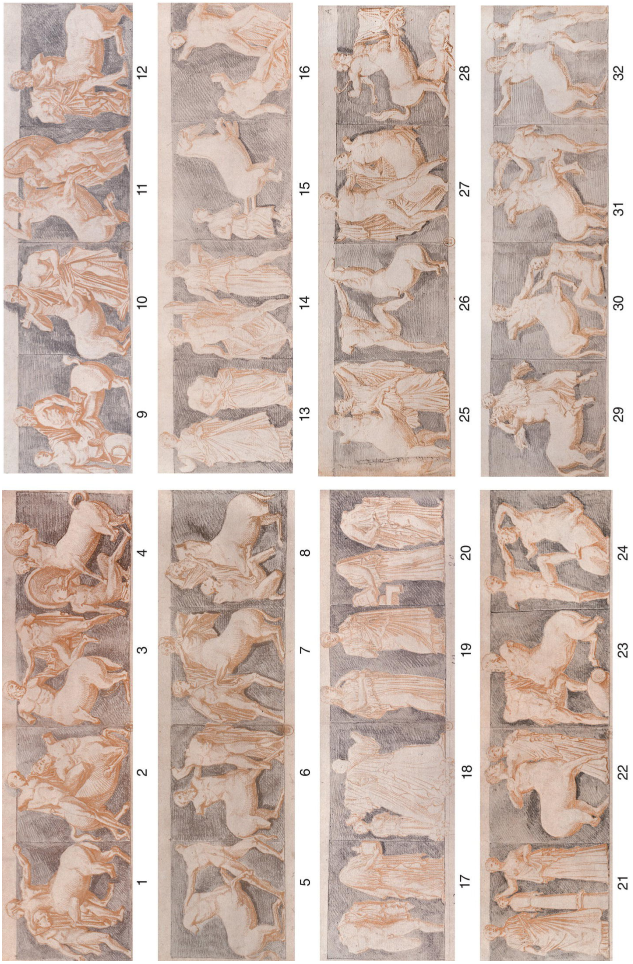
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Figure 7.3 Carrey drawings of Parthenon metopes. 1674.

Source: Bibliotheque Nationale.

Box The Parthenon Marbles and the Acropolis Museum

The Parthenon has stood since its construction, neither quarried out for building material nor toppled and buried like the Zeus temple at Olympia, but it was modified, bombarded, subjected to deliberate defacement, and mined, not for its fine ashlar blocks but for its exemplary sculpture. While the Venetians, after the explosion of 1687, attempted to remove some pedimental figures with disastrous results, the most significant displacement of Parthenon sculptures occurred over a century later, when Lord Elgin, British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, removed about half the preserved sculpture. Elgin claimed to have authorization from Turkish authorities to work on the Acropolis, but the authenticity of his documentation, and whether it even permitted the removal of material, were, and still are, deeply disputed. Consequently, the majority of the Parthenon sculptures reside today in the British Museum: 247 of the original 524 feet of frieze, most (15 of 18) of the undestroyed south metopes, and all of the better-preserved pedimental figures – every sculpture illustrated in this chapter. When first displayed in 1817, many in England were unimpressed with the sculptures because they were damaged and therefore less beautiful than the heavily restored Roman copies to which they were accustomed. Some, like Lord Byron, considered their acquisition to have been an act of theft, disrespectful to the Classical legacy. By the time the first permanent Elgin gallery opened in 1832, acquisitions of other original Greek sculptures by European museums had changed attitudes, and Elgin’s marbles were soon embraced by their new owners, the British public.

The legitimacy of this possession goes far beyond the legality of their acquisition, which will always be disputed, and there are firm and opposing views on whether there exists a moral imperative for the repatriation of these and other artworks. As for the Parthenon specifically, those who favor restitution cite its special status as an enduring icon of Classical Greece and, at the same time, an extraordinarily important monument for our understanding of ancient art. Reuniting the sculptures facilitates their study by scholars and enhances their appreciation by all. Opponents have claimed that the sculptures are better off not subjected to

Athenian pollution, are accessible (*gratis*) to a larger public in London than in Athens, and are integral to the entire Museum collection – itself an important historical phenomenon.

The Acropolis Restoration Project prompted revival of the issue. In 1975, a Greek-led team of architects and scholars undertook the dismantling and reconstruction of all four buildings of the Periclean program, using up-to-date scientific methods to consolidate and protect them from environmental damage, including the removal of sculptures from exposure to the elements. One outcome is a new museum for the Acropolis material more than ten times larger than its inadequate predecessor on the Acropolis. An architectural competition was held in 1989 under Greek Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri, who had become a conspicuous advocate for the marbles' return. The museum, opened in 2007, devotes its entire top floor to a Parthenon gallery that parallels the orientation of the temple, itself conspicuous on the hilltop beyond the glass walls. There is room for all the sculptures, with the missing parts, in London and elsewhere, present in the form of casts. While the argument rages on, several illegally acquired vases and sculptures have been returned by museums in recent years, and many public opinion polls suggest strong support for restitution of the Parthenon marbles as well.

That the metopes were the earliest of the architectural sculptures is reflected in their style. There is significant variation, especially considering the short time possible for their carving, and the stylistically earliest metopes are close to the Olympia and Hephaesteum sculptures. Sculptors trained at Olympia likely came straightaway to Athens to work on the new temple above the Agora. Soon, work on that building was interrupted after its peristyle was completed, and the construction team was moved to the Acropolis. The carving of 92 large metopes in just four years (during one of which – 446/5 – no work seems to have been done) brought about a rapid stylistic development reflected in the contemporaneity of strongly differing styles. Sculptors worked side by side in both more traditional and more developed styles, as has also been postulated for Aegina.

The Parthenon metopes are slightly smaller than those at Olympia, placed higher on the building, and seen in full sun rather than from a dim **pteroma**. Legibility was enhanced by higher relief, added paint, and the attachment of metal attributes. There might seem on the Parthenon to be more emphasis on violent activity across the metopes than at Olympia, since the southern metopes now preserved all show combats, but the Carrey drawings indicate greater compositional variety. What remains suggests similar variation on the north, counterpoising scenes of Olympians with those of Homeric violence, as on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. The subjects of the scenes on the east and west faces require scenes of confrontation, but the damaged slabs do show some quieter moments, such as the Helios and Selene metopes that frame the eastern Gigantomachy.

Some metopes display the typically Early Classical two-dimensional compositions seen at Olympia. South Metope 31 (Figure 7.4) is one of the earliest stylistically. The relief is relatively low, each figure being tightly bound to the background. The Lapith's right arm, with which he strikes the centaur grasping his throat, displays an especially awkward upward curve, as though the artist were trying to suggest a horizontal recession into space, as one would expect with a "right cross," compressed into two dimensions; the form also mirrors the outline of the centaur's arm, creating an oval that visually binds the two, necessary since each figure acts in its own lateral space, with overlap avoided as far as possible. The clumsy intertwining of the equine forelegs with human limb has a similar effect. Also evocative of Early Classical style is the heavy physiognomy; musculature is sharply defined by deeply cut linear divisions, creating the rectilinear patterns typical of Olympia figures. The formalized mask-like face of the centaur, and the patterned profusion of his untamed locks, are all but identical those of the beasts on the west pediment of the Zeus temple. The heavy, rounded, nearly expressionless, head of the Lapith youth could, but for its size and material, be mistaken for a head from the Heracles sequence.

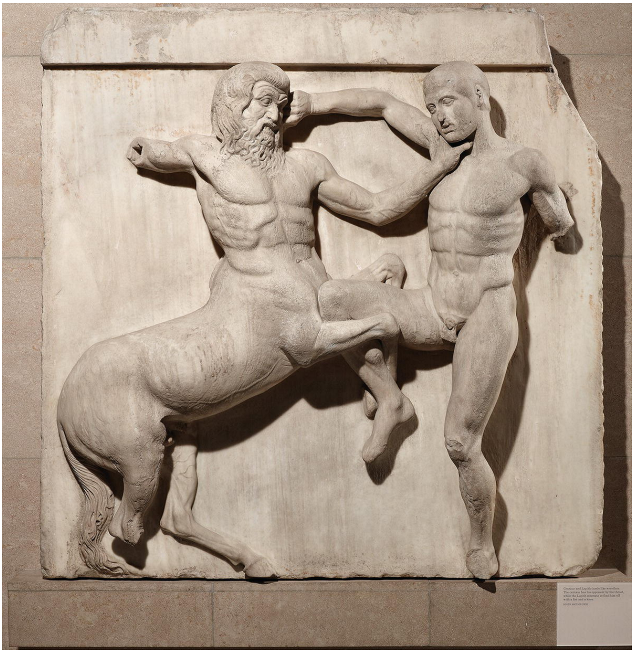


Figure 7.4 Parthenon, South Metope 31. London, British Museum. Marble. 447–442? H. 4′ 8″ (1.42 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

On South Metope 30 there is also little overlap and some, although much less, awkwardness of pose and interaction (Figure 7.5). The figures are, however, more removed from the background and three-dimensionally carved, with a strongly developed style of rendering musculature. The sharply incised lines of the first metope give way to a much more subtly modeled means of showing equivalently heroic anatomy. Not only are the patterns suppressed by the blurring of linear divisions, but also the different elements of the body correlate with one another in a more convincing manner, reflecting the overall pose and action; this is especially clear on the Lapith, where his ribcage, abdomen, and hip come together as he collapses to the ground. While his face, although more contorted in pain, is not so different from the previous Lapith’s, those of the two centaurs differ distinctly. This one lacks entirely the artificial patterning of the other. His hair is shorter, beard tamer, and his face has no abstract lines and wrinkles. Consequently, he shows his agony less distinctly than does his opponent, and the stylistic difference between figures, so central to the Olympia pediment, begins to be elided, significantly if the centaurs stand for an internal, not alien, source of transgression and disorder.

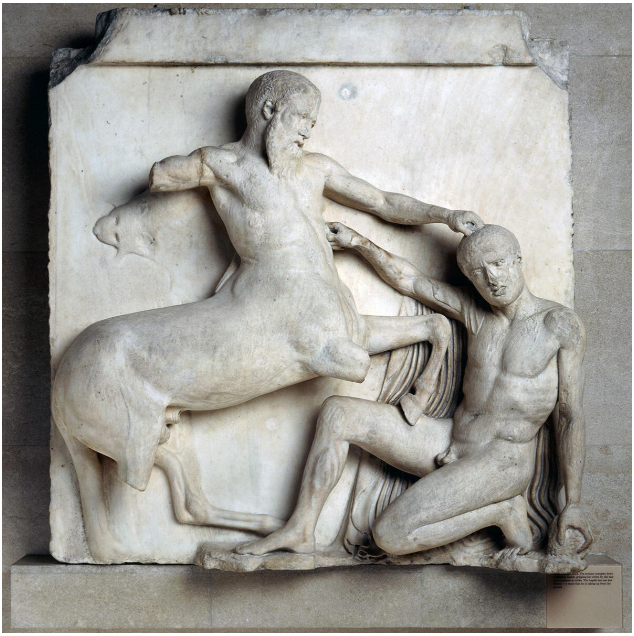


Figure 7.5 Parthenon, South Metope 30. London, British Museum. Marble. 447–442? H. 4′ 8″ (1.42 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

South Metope 27 (Figure 7.6) shows still more stylistic progression. The figures overlap boldly; the Lapith is almost entirely separated from the background. His outline is both eloquent and natural; its graceful lines sweep the viewer's eye away from the composition's center, only to be drawn back by his taught, hair-pulling left arm. His motion is mirrored by the centaur, who struggles to escape, restrained tightly by the Lapith, whose spear, now lost, binds the two together. The complex visual dynamics of this composition are complemented by the flowing lines of the Lapith's cloak, which, originally painted, would have formed an effective backdrop for both figures.

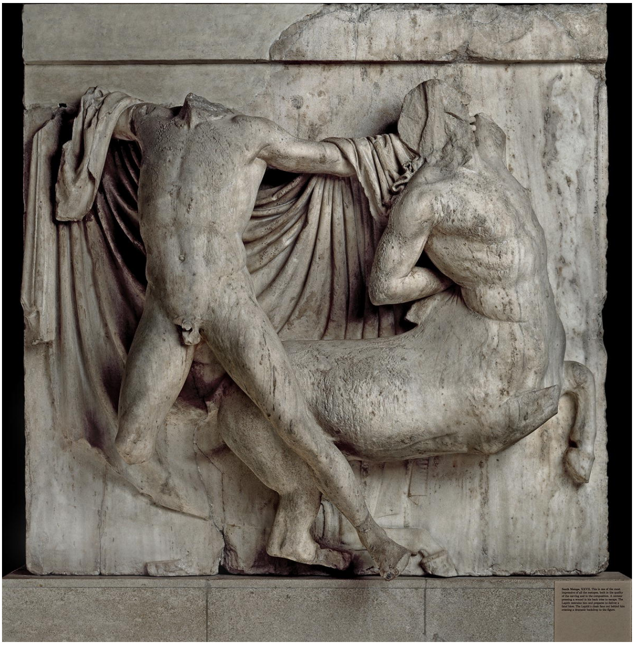


Figure 7.6 Parthenon, South Metope 27. London, British Museum. Marble. 447–442? H. 4′ 8″ (1.42 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

One can only speculate concerning the stylistic variations on the other sides, which were doubtless similar, but we can assess the iconography. Each story shows confrontation between a force that is Hellenic and anthropomorphic (Olympian, Athenian, Lapith, and Achaean, respectively) and an opponent that by its very alterity threatens the necessary order of Greek human existence. The giants represent the disorder from which the Olympians forged their own version of divine justice. The Amazons and Trojans were eastern and non-Hellenic. The centaurs were beasts. But of course the lines are not so clearly drawn. The centaurs were, as noted already, only partially bestial, and to vanquish them was as much a matter of displaying sophrosyne as overcoming an external foe. Amazons were fully human, but they were women who behaved like men, their transgressions perhaps concretizing gynophobic Hellenic attitudes toward standards of behavior and gender roles. The Iliupersis is more complicated still, since Trojan "otherness" resides largely in geography. In myth they behave like

Greeks, worship and fight like Greeks, and their heroes display qualities equal to or greater than those of their Greek counterparts; indeed, in the episodes depicted on the metopes, it is the Greeks who behave transgressively and unheroically. The Trojans' fate here results from their drawing the short straw in the Olympian machinations deciding the conflict; simply put, their flaw was that they did not sufficiently enjoy divine favor. The sack of Troy may also evoke the two destructions of Ionian cities by Persians – those of Miletos and Athens – which framed the Persian conflict. Given the emphasis on conquest and alterity, not to mention the specific inclusion of the oriental and feminine, it is commonplace to interpret the iconography of these metopes as referring directly to the defeat of Persia. Just how this theme is nuanced on this particular temple will be revealed by the remainder of the program.

The Frieze

The building's construction, as was conventional, proceeded from exterior to interior, so the sekos frieze slabs would not have been in place until after the metopes, but at the latest by 438; carving may have continued for an unknown number of years. Stylistically, the frieze fits between the metopes and pediments, but these intervals are short, and the co-existence of varying styles is inevitable. The frieze, although enormous (just over three feet high and about 524 feet long), is more stylistically consistent than either the metopes or the pediments, and no part of the frieze shows the stylistic affinity to Early Classical work that some of the metopes do. The period 440–435 is probably a good guess, if we allow for carving *in situ*.

Although it was, owing to its location, the least evident to the ancient viewer, the frieze, of all the Parthenon sculptures, has attracted the most attention in modern times. There are at least three reasons for this. First is its extraordinary state of preservation. Although sections of the north and south were damaged in the explosion, the reliefs were never deliberately defaced, as were the metopes, and were protected by a roof until removed in modern times. About 80% of the total original length is preserved, and much of the rest can be restored from Carrey's drawing. Second is the apparent oddity of its inclusion on the building. The continuous frieze, whether carved or not, is an Ionic, not a Doric feature, and this frieze has long been cited as the most conspicuous preserved element of the Parthenon's mixing of elements from the two orders. Scholars have more recently recognized that this mixing of orders had numerous precedents, making this feature of the Parthenon more culmination than innovation. The third and primary reason is the apparent novelty of its subject, a procession of human worshippers culminating in a ritual act before a gathering of deities. All known previous Greek architectural sculptures appear to have drawn on the realm of myth, so a scene such as this can seem not just atypical but even heretical.

The overall design is straightforward. The procession begins at the southwest corner, from which it moves eastward along the south flank and northward along the west. The scene on this back façade, above the opisthodomos, is preparatory and anticipatory. At the south end stands a figure donning his cloak and looking away from the direction of the west procession, thus linking it to that on the south, which he faces. His stasis is reinforced by a similarly backward facing neighbor to the north, still tying his sandal. There follows a sequence of horses, unmounted riders, and inspectors occupying about a third of the west side until the procession of riders begins. On this side the cavalcade is periodically punctuated by standing figures, ending with a standing draped marshal, who slows the action to turn the corner, where, on the north, are more standing figures. From this point the cavalcade picks up pace again (Figure 7.7), occupying on both the north and south roughly the westernmost half of the relief. The 60 horsemen on the South Frieze, it was recognized early on, are divided into ten ranks of six, distinguished from one another by details of dress. These are thought to reflect newly expanded Athenian cavalry, which under Pericles adopted an organization by democratic tribe. The arrangement at the north is much less clear, but a similar pattern has been detected. Ahead of the horsemen on each of the long sides are shown chariots with armed soldiers (heroically semi-nude) either on the chariot or standing alongside. These are thought to reference the dangerous **apobates** race. The easternmost sections of the two long sides differ in detail, but each is occupied with a procession on foot; these include, from west to east, mature men carrying olive branches (*thallophoroi*), musicians, bearers of offerings or ritual equipment, and figures leading sacrificial victims (Figure 7.8).

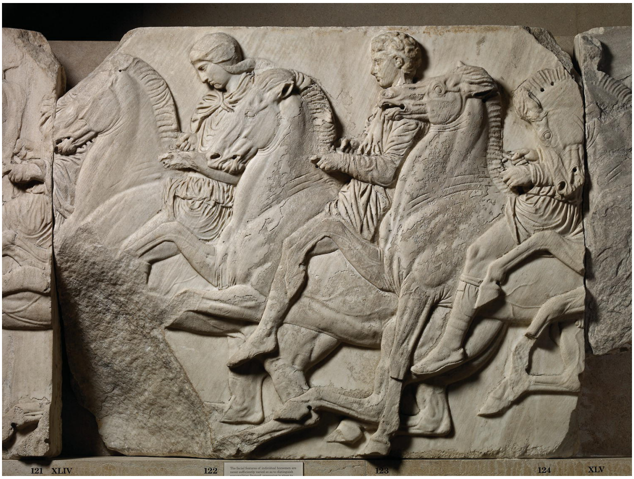


Figure 7.7 Parthenon. Frieze, North Cavalcade. London, British Museum. Marble. 440–435(?). H. 3′ 4″ (1.0 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

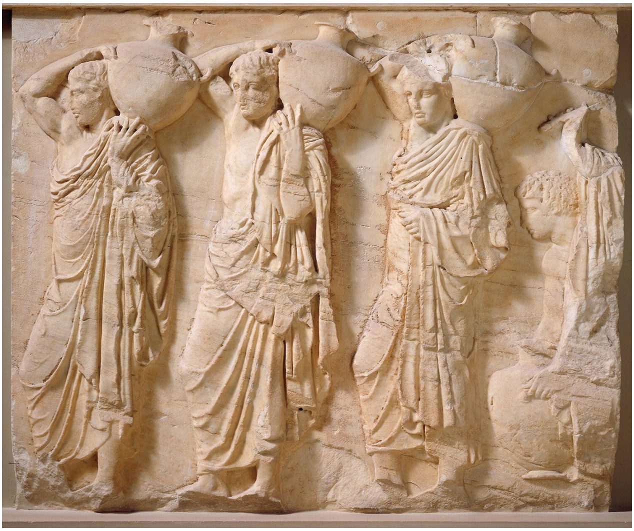


Figure 7.8 Parthenon. Frieze, North Frieze Hydria-Bearers. London, British Museum. Marble. 440–435(?). H. 3′ 4″ (1.0 m).

Source: akg-images/Nimatallah.

At either end of the East Frieze is the termination of the corresponding half of the procession, including only women, shown together with marshals or religious officials (Figure 7.9). Most, but not all, of the women hold ritual equipment, including libation vessels, incense burners, and offering tables. These stop before groups of draped males leaning on staffs, 10 in all, unequally distributed, probably the eponymous heroes of the Attic tribes. Beyond them, six Olympian deities face each section of procession, seated and thus appropriately larger than those processing (Figure 7.10). The heroes thus serve a transitional role between mortal and immortal realms. At the very center of the east frieze, between the two groups of gods, who face away, are five figures: (from left to right) two youthful females carrying stools, a more mature female taking the stool from the first girl, and a draped male figure with a large folded cloth, assisted by a child whose gender is controversial.

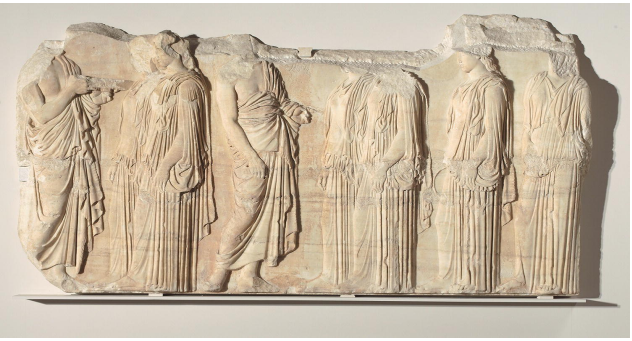


Figure 7.9 Parthenon. Frieze, east side, with draped women and marshals. Paris, Louvre. Marble. 440–435(?). H. 3′ 4″ (1.0 m).

Source: © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/Hervé Lewandowski.

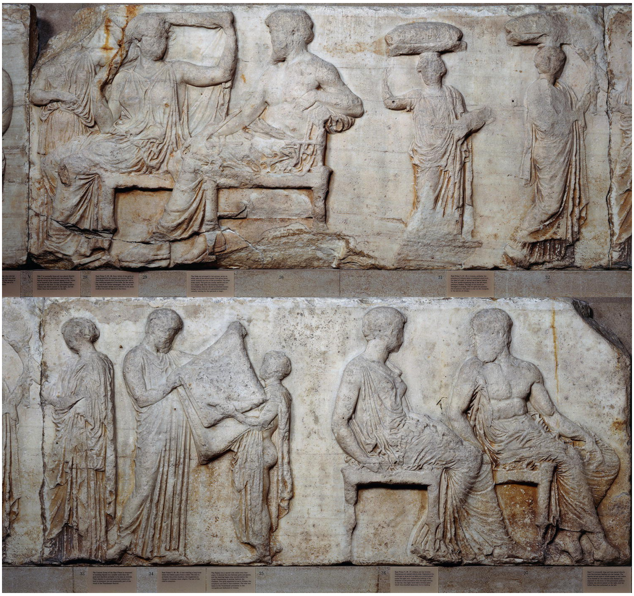


Figure 7.10 Parthenon. East Frieze, center. London, British Museum. Marble. 440–435(?). H. 3′ 4″ (1.0 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

In its design, the frieze displays a dynamic symmetry typical of Classical art. As in pedimental sculpture, there is a mood of greater activity on the western half of the frieze with increasing quietude as one moves east. South and north correspond to one another as two sides of a similar process, but the one is not the mirror image of the other. The west and east balance as the beginning and end of the activity, and there is vivid sense of topographical and chronological progression, clearly distinguishing among preparation, procession, and culmination. This sense is enhanced by a rhythmic quality in the variation among similar figures, the mixing of forward and backward facing poses, and static figures that suggest a slowing of pace to turn corners. Repeated figures mark significant points the progression. The marshal on the west, who begins the northern procession, repeats the pose of the marshal on the east, who both marks the culmination of the southern procession and gestures, over the central scene, to the head of the northern. Similarly, the priest(?) with the cloth at east, who should constitute the culmination of the action, repeats the southernmost figure at west, which begins it.

The figural style represents a stage beyond the metopes in the refinement of the simplistic forms of the Olympia sculptures, as seen in the complex and subtly carved anatomy of the male nudes, and the still rational, but perceptually convincing, cascading folds of both thin and thick fabric in garments of male and female figures alike (Figure 7.11). The faces, aside from the presence or absence of beards, are identical on all figures of each gender and age; they capture the impassive quality of the Early Classical style but with more delicate forms, rejecting both its heaviness of features and interest in characterization. Typical is the small, downturned mouth with so-called “rosebud lips” that is a hallmark of High Classical style. The skill in rendering figures in space is especially evident in the ranks of horsemen, whose overlapping pattern effectively suggests several ranks galloping abreast, even though, with a relief not more than two inches deep, the sculptor had to sink the foreground relief into the background figures to create the illusion. The treatment is highly pictorial, reminding us that free painting was coming into its own at just this time; paint and metal accessories would have enhanced this effect greatly.

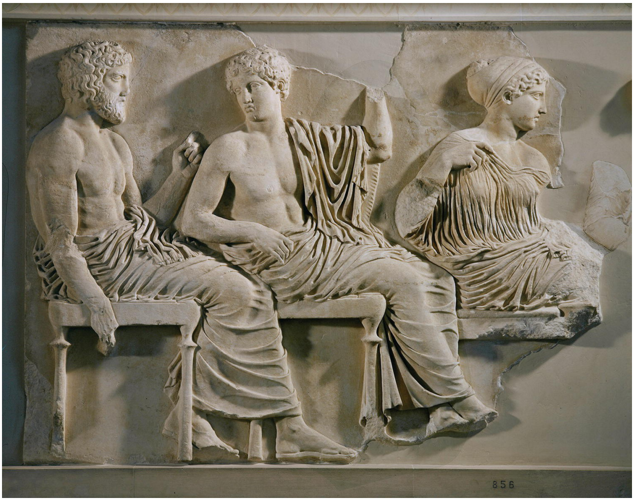


Figure 7.11 Parthenon. Frieze, East side, with Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis. London, British Museum. Marble. 440–435(?). H. 3′ 4″ (1.0 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

As for subject matter, there may be no more fully discussed topic in the entire study of ancient art. The most important procession in Athens was the Panathenaia, undertaken annually to present a newly woven peplos to Athena Polias in the form of her venerable wooden statue. The figure on the east that folds or unfolds a heavy cloth typical of the peplos should seal the identification, but problems abound, and three issues are key. First, more than a few known elements, both minor and major, of the Panathenaic procession are not present on the frieze, and others prominent there (such as the horsemen who occupy more than half its length) are never said to have been included. Second, the Panathenaia was directed toward a different aspect of Athena (Polias, not Parthenos) and the peplos was presented to a statue in a different temple (the *archaios naos*, later the Erechtheum). Third, and most significant, is the apparent oddity of a non-mythological subject on a temple sculpture.

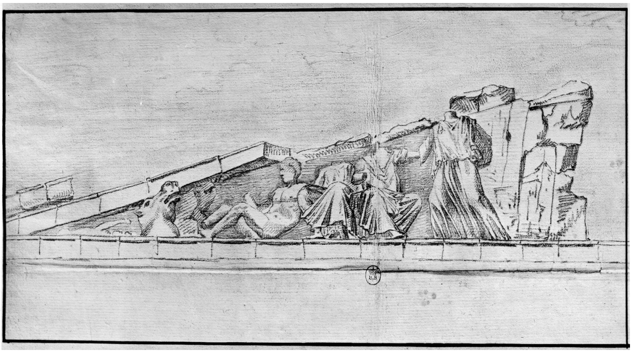
Proposed solutions abound. As for the first issue, the preponderance of horsemen has been seen as referencing a procession of heroes (specifically the dead from Marathon). The non-alignment with what we believe to have constituted the procession, moreover, may suggest that the frieze does not depict the Panathenaia, *per se*, but simply reference it, and other festivals as well. We impose at our peril modern notions of literal depiction, when Greek art seems more interested in creative re-presentation, even visual performance, than in documentation. As for the nature of temple and cult, those who believe the Parthenon is an offering (such as a treasury) rather than a temple interpret the frieze as an elaborate votive relief. Since there is, in any case, only the one altar, the Parthenon, whether temple or treasury, must have functioned in the cult of Athena Polias, and thus a depiction of the Panathenaia is less problematic than it might seem.

Following the third objection, the frieze has been seen as mythological, either a Panathenaia in the heroic age of Athenian kings (who *are* central to the building's program) or, a variation of this, a procession commemorating the sacrifice of the daughters of Erechtheus (the *parthenoi* referenced above), which served also as an origin myth for the Panathenaia. Since the latter requires human sacrifice to be the culminating scene, many find this choice even more disturbing than a mortal procession, but here again the argument depends on interjecting our own expectations, founded or otherwise, into the interpretive process. This last reading has much to commend it. First, it explains the images we see, especially the patently heroic nature of the entire cavalcade and the specific offerings depicted, far more successfully than does the identification as a Panathenaia, which requires much "explaining away" of what is actually present and absent. Second, as a reference to Athenian self-sacrifice in time of war, and a reminder of the *aitia* of the Panathenaia (as the Zeus temple sculptures did for the Olympic games), it fits well with the overall iconographic program, as developed further below.

Finally, as noted at the outset, the unusual location of the frieze rendered it difficult to see clearly and possible to read only in small sections at a time. Generations of scholars have wondered why so much effort would be put into a massive work of presumably great iconographic importance if it were not apt to be noticed by the contemporary viewer. A traditional explanation for this (as, for example, for the fully finished backs of the pedimental figures) is that the sculptures were meant for divine eyes, not mortal worshippers. Yet many readings, such as the last one discussed, attribute a hortatory and exemplary quality to the scene, one that would be ineffective were the frieze not really experienced and pondered. One might question, however, whether this characteristic is actually atypical of ancient architectural sculpture. The metopes too were small and remote, and also not mentioned by Pausanias; like pediments, they necessarily present a single image extracted from a narrative in order to conjure up the story in a viewer's mind. Physical accommodations were made in every type of architectural sculpture to maximize legibility, including paint, gleaming metal attachments, and variations in depth of relief, so there can be no doubt that the images were meant to be seen and read by mortal viewers. These viewers were far better equipped than we to assimilate what they saw, since, through a lifetime of exposure to images and performances, they knew well the subjects before them and were culturally conditioned to provide what was absent or obscure.

The Pediments

The pedimental sculptures were added last, after the building was otherwise complete. Quarrying recorded for the years through 436 was no doubt for these large figures (and the acroteria), the carving and installation of which must have gone on until the accounts were closed in 432. These sculptures, slightly larger than those at Olympia, were entirely freestanding and are quite variously preserved. The central section of the East Pediment was already entirely missing in Carrey's time, having suffered from the addition of an apse during the Parthenon's use as a church (Figure 7.12). His drawing gives only the flanking figures, many of which, however, are very well preserved, although mostly headless. Alternatively, most of the West Pediment was still in place in Carrey's day and can be seen in his drawing, which is invaluable for our restoration since many of these sculptures crashed to pieces when Morosini attempted to remove them a decade or so later. Pausanias gives the subjects of the pediments; in fact, this is nearly all he has to say about the building. His neglect might imply a diminished religious importance for the Parthenon, but he does call it a temple (*naos*). Above the entrance, he says, is the birth of Athena and in the back is the strife (*eris*) of Poseidon against Athena over the land. The only other items of interest to him were the beasts and myths portrayed on the chryselephantine colossus within, which is considered with the works of Phidias in Chapter 9.



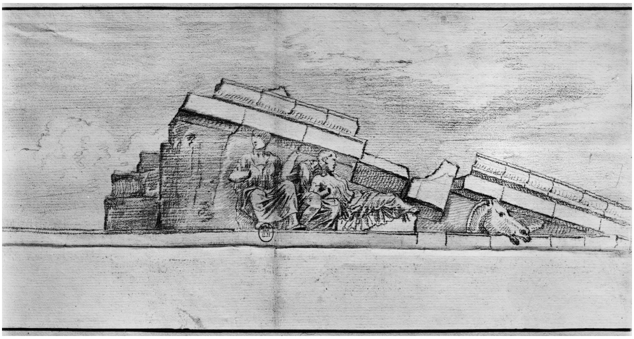


Figure 7.12 Carrey drawing of Parthenon East Pediment. 1674.

Source: Bibliotheque Nationale.

The action of the East Pediment is located on Olympus, framed by the ethereal chariots of a rising Helios (sun) and setting Selene (moon), as on the Gigantomachy metopes below. They form something of a compositional innovation; corner figures by now typically turn the viewer's attention back toward the center, countering the flow from center to flanks, but here, appropriate to their role, they proceed consistently and continually from left to right. The extant figures are variously identified. The male at left reclining on a feline skin could be Heracles or, more likely, Dionysus holding a cup (Figure 7.13). Behind him are three draped females; two seated on a chest are probably Demeter and Persephone and the third, which flees the central scene, perhaps Hekate or Artemis (who were closely related). The languorously lounging female in the right wing should be Aphrodite, usually thought to be supported by her mother Dione, with the seated female next to her perhaps Hestia (Figure 7.14). Alternatively, she rests on Artemis, who is followed by Leto and a conjectural figure of Apollo. Most recently she has been identified as Metis, Athena's mother, with two goddesses of childbirth.

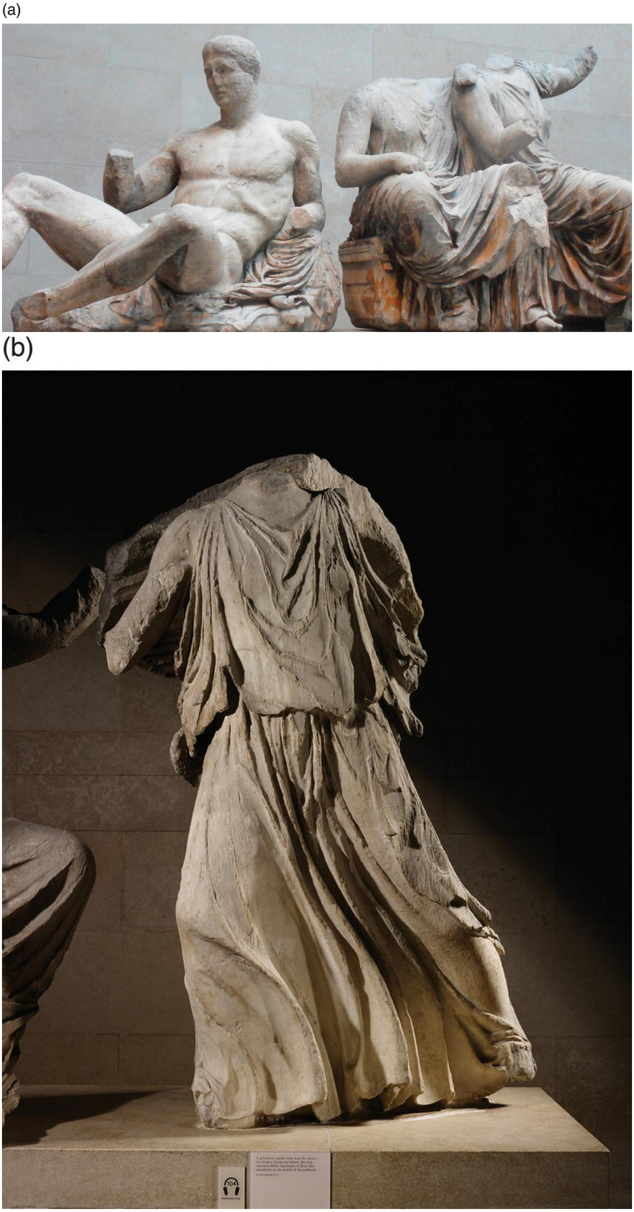


Figure 7.13 Parthenon. East Pediment. Figures from left side (D, E, F, G). London, British Museum. Marble. 438–432. H. of G 5′ 8″ (1.73 m).

Source: (a) IAM/akg-images; (b) © Trustees of the British Museum.

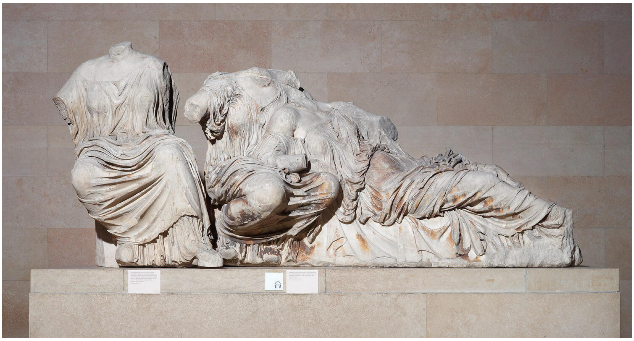
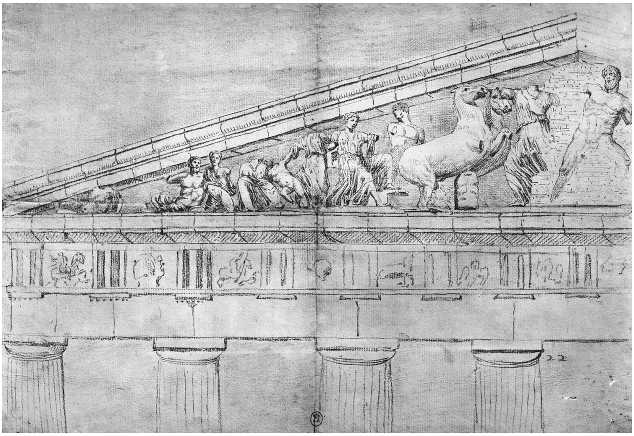


Figure 7.14 Parthenon. East Pediment. Figures from right side (K, L, M). London, British Museum. Marble. 438–432. H. of K 4′ 3″ (1.3 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

The only evidence for the figures at center comes from cuttings in the pedimental floor and iconographic parallels. Depictions of the myth in vase painting most often show a tiny, fully armed Athena springing from her enthroned father’s head while Hephaestus, who liberated her with his axe, recoils in amazement. This seems at odds with the relatively placid mood of the preserved figures, so most reconstructions modify the scene to show the already formed goddess standing beside the seated Zeus, choosing the quiet moment after the action. Hera and Hephaestus are also assumed to have been present. Scholars have sought the composition in Roman reliefs and painted vases, and many reconstructions have been offered. The primary variation is in the pose of the seated Zeus, frontal, profile, or three-quarter, each with its own problems. In more recent years, there has been increasing acceptance of an entirely different arrangement, with a frontal central standing Zeus flanked by similarly posed peplophoroi depicting Athena and Hera – similar, perhaps deliberately so, to the East Pediment at Olympia.

From Carrey’s representation it is clear that the West Pediment, much more animated than the east, captures a climactic moment of the conflict (Figure 7.15). The story has several variants, but all have Athena and Poseidon competing for divine lordship over the Athenians. Each was to bestow a gift, the more valuable of which would decide the issue. Poseidon struck the Acropolis rock, and a salt spring arose; Athena brought forth an olive tree. The matter was decided in favor of the latter, Poseidon protested, and the conflict was, as elsewhere, resolved by the intervention of Zeus. It was long thought that this scene portrayed the summoning of the gifts, but more likely it shows the subsequent apparition of Zeus in the form of a gilt bronze thunderbolt hanging down at center from the pedimental cornice. From this, logically, both deities vigorously recoil, flanked by their messengers Hermes and Iris and charioteers Nike and Amphitrite. The figures in the corners are taken to be, as Pausanias has it at Olympia east, river gods; in Athens they would be the Ilissus and the Eridanus streams, although the action itself should be located on the Acropolis. The rest is taken up by a variety of figures (many female) of varying ages, taken to be the royal family of monarchic Athens, which was charged with deciding the contest. The pedimental subjects, therefore, connect in a very direct way with the cult of Athena by showing both the goddess's birth, in a universal realm, and how she came to be especially worshipped in her namesake polis, through a specifically local myth.



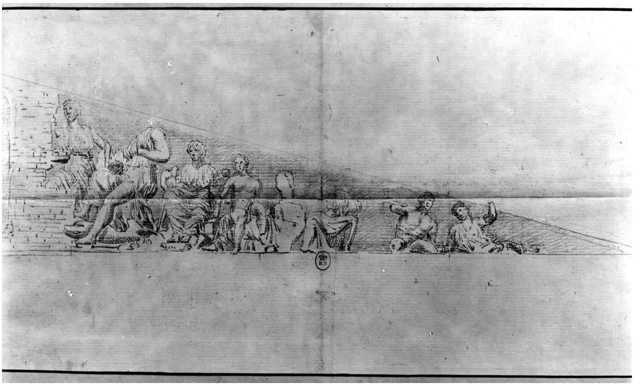


Figure 7.15 Carrey drawing of Parthenon West Pediment. 1674.

Source: Bibliotheque Nationale.

The styles of the figures, as expected from their date, show a refinement and complexity advanced from that of the Parthenon frieze; more important still is the emergence of greater stylistic variety, especially evident in drapery treatments. Whereas in earlier Classical sculpture different types of fabric and garment could be distinguished through wider or narrower folds, the texture and substance of these folds were essentially consistent. This is seen, for example, in the chiton of the Penelope (Figure 6.11) when compared with the peplophoroi from the East Pediment at Olympia (Figure 6.2). Over the course of the intervening quarter century, with the massive amount of work on the Parthenon surely a catalyst, sculptors developed a repertoire of drapery patterns that not only function to distinguish among garment types but that model and reveal the body, and describe its pose and action, in a variety of different ways.

The three draped females in the left wing of the east pediment all wear the peplos, but the renderings are different. On Demeter and Persephone, the artist’s objective is to enhance the forms of the body and describe their seated position; thus the drapery in some places, e.g., over the legs, is carved deeply and projects boldly, creating a complex and instructive linear pattern, of modeling and tension folds, legible even from a distance. Over the breasts, however, this same garment is thin and adhering, allowing the ample forms of the fertility deities to show through. On the fleeing peplophoros a pattern of curved lines sweeps back from the leading leg and down from the hips, not modeling the body as much as reinforcing the impression of its rapid movement; this garment seems stiffer and heavier than the others, but in fact they are identical. The figures in the opposite wing wear not the peplos, but the thinner chiton, and here too the sculptor opts for a variety of effects. On the two more matronly figures the thin fabric both adheres and models, and the more youthful Aphrodite is a study in lassitude and liquidity. As her body flows gently from her mother's lap along a rocky bed it is both outlined and revealed by waves of sharply crafted lines reaching from her coquettishly bared shoulder to her outstretched feet. Her breasts and abdomen are both outlined by folds and revealed by a "wet" drapery that all but disappears. The effect calls to mind her role as goddess of love and fertility as well as her sea-born origin, setting a standard for Aphrodite (and Venus) figures for centuries to come.

The Program

As suggested by Pausanias' selective treatment, the pediments were the most conspicuous elements of the sculptural program. A viewer emerging from the Propylaea would first see the figures looming above the western colonnade and could study them while climbing the rock, reading a distinctly Athenian story. The gaze would turn inevitably slightly left to take in the very spots where the marks of this contest still stood – olive tree, salt spring, trident mark, and thunderbolt – as monumentalized a little later in the Erechtheum. Whether Athenian or Ionian ally, he could not help but consider the antiquity and autochthony of the demos that ruled this polis and the empire that it had created. As one approaches the facade, the Amazonomachy metopes come into clearer view, a reminder that this was a land fortified not just by its walls but also by its people, and one not to be successfully invaded and attacked. From closer still one first makes out the West Frieze and the beginning of the procession that marked the ancient origins of the Athenians' divine favor, seconding the pediment above. The frieze then functions to move the viewer along the north (more likely) or south flanks, where there appear, in the metopes looming above the peristyle, metaphors for the Thalean polarities that construct identity: beastly/human, male/female, Hellene/barbarian – each with its own ambiguity.

Arriving at the east, one is bombarded with imagery. In the pediment is performed the birth of the goddess whom this building aims to please; just below is the Gigantomachy, central motif of the Panathenaic festival, which commemorated Athena's victory in this conflict, periodically re-enacted by its weaving into her peplos. Reinforced most explicitly here is the connection with her father Zeus, seen also on the west pediment, where he legitimizes her relationship with the land, and on the frieze, where father and daughter flank the central scene, twin culminations of the processional flow. This scene, if correctly identified as the sacrifice of Erechtheids, adds further closure since the conflict that necessitated this selfless act was between Erechtheus and Eumolpus, fighting on behalf of Athena and Poseidon respectively, and with the goddess again prevailing. The assembled gods are present in approbation, less of the unfortunate necessity of the central act, from which they turn away, than of the piety of the Athenian demos before them, each citizen being willing to make the ultimate sacrifice, like their ancient king and queen, in order to deserve the divine favor they most obviously enjoyed.

It is commonplace to read the Parthenon as "all about the Persian wars." The metopes concretize alterities at the heart of that conflict. Moreover, at the battle of Plataea, according to Herodotus (9.27.2–6), the Athenians justified their claim to fight on the important left wing by reference to a series of earlier triumphs and noble deeds, initiating a practice frequently repeated in both art and oratory. The list includes the "mythological" Amazonomachy and Trojan War, shown in the metopes, together with the "more historical" Battle of Marathon. The frieze and pediments similarly showcase the eminence of Athens and Athena – with deliberate elision between the two – that resulted first from her success in defeating Persia and subsequently from her inherent right to lead the Greeks in their defense against barbarian aggression. The building was paid for from funds collected for this defense. It replaced one originally erected to glorify the first Athenian victory over Persia and then destroyed by the Persians, to be restored only after the Persian threat was gone.

Yet was the Parthenon simply a Persian war monument delayed?

Not to diminish the importance of Marathon and Salamis in the memory of the Athenians, nor their importance in the rhetoric of Athenian self-construction and presentation, but Athens of the 440s was a different place from Athens of the 470s. As Herodotus suggests, the Persian victory was by then but one element of the program by which the Athenians visually materialized principles that they wished to project to their allies, their foes, and themselves. After all the military vicissitudes, the 40 years between 480 and 440 had been an enormous net gain for the Athens. With the Persian threat gone, and the Greek states, both allied and enemy, uneasy, Athens under Pericles recognized her position as both powerful and precarious. She also realized, in keeping with the thinking of the times, that seeming was at least as important as being, and that the power of persuasion would be as important to the maintenance of empire as the power of her navy had been in building it. Persuasion has no place at either end of an absolute polarity but can only operate within the grey areas between them. Significantly, the first major building erected under Pericles' guidance was one of deliberate ambiguity, looking like a temple, embodying and illustrating cult, but not equipped to function as other temples did. Thus it could expand the rules for iconographic appropriateness and, like a sophist, seek novel arguments to support its claims, with an artistry and effectiveness unmatched in all the art of ancient Greece.

8

Classical Moment II: Sculptors and Statuary in the Mid-Fifth Century

> Following his comments on Pericles’ building program quoted above, Plutarch continues:
>
> His general manager and general overseer was Phidias, although the several works had great architects and artists besides. *Pericles* 13.4; tr. Perrin, 41.
>
> But it was Phidias who produced the great golden image of the goddess, and he is duly inscribed on the tablet as the workman who made it. Everything, almost, was under his charge, and all the artists and artisans, as I have said, were under his superintendence, owing to his friendship with Pericles. This brought envy upon the one, and contumely on the other… *Pericles* 13.9; tr. Perrin, 45.
>
> And elsewhere in the biography:
>
> Phidias the sculptor was contractor for the great statue, as I have said, and being admitted to the friendship of Pericles, and acquiring the greatest influence with him, made some enemies through the jealousy that he excited; …These latter persuaded one Menon, an assistant of Phidias, to… bring information and accusation against Phidias. …Embezzlement, indeed, was not proven, for the gold of the statue, from the very start, had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Phidias, at the wise suggestion of Pericles, that it could all be taken off and weighed, and this is what Pericles actually ordered the accusers of Phidias to do at this time. …[Found guilty, however, of inserting his and Pericles’ portraits among the figures on Athena’s shield]… Phidias was led away to prison, and died there of sickness. *Pericles* 31.2–5; tr. Perrin, 89–91.

In the absence of any extant systematic history of art from the ancient world (see box), scholars make much of passages like this.

But what do we really learn? Plutarch says that Phidias both produced the cult statue of the Parthenon and supervised all the Periclean work on the Acropolis. The former attribution is repeated in other sources, but the latter is not and is probably Plutarch’s own inference. He is wrong on at least one point: Phidias installed the chryselephantine Zeus at Olympia *after* completing the Parthenos, so he could not have died in prison, at least not in Pericles’ lifetime. As for the removable gold, Thucydides informs us (2.13.5) that this was done to make it accessible, if needed, as a part of the goddess’s (and League’s) treasury. Plutarch’s version, whether true or altered, simply better fits his authorial aim as a biographer of Pericles, since it underscores the persuasive skills by which he maintained his authority in the face of serious political opposition. Phidias, moreover, serves here as a stand-in for Pericles, incurring both jealousy and attempts at retribution as a result of his continually waxing influence. Each, moreover, functions as a metaphor for Athens herself, since, as Thucydides himself states (1.23), the Peloponnesian War arose from growing Athenian power and the consequent concerns of the Spartans.

Box Literary Sources II – Ancient Art Histories

Pausanias’ *Description of Greece* is an invaluable resource for the historian of ancient art, but it remains just that – a description, with a limited amount of analysis and virtually no art historical assessment. Yet histories of sculptors and sculptures were written. While the birth of art history has been detected in the reflective artistic self-consciousness of Polyclitus, the earliest narrative accounts belong to the early Hellenistic period. Of the sources on sculpture listed by Pliny (see below) we know a little about three, from whom historiographers have identified two trends. To the early Hellenistic sculptor Xenocrates and his probable successor Antigonus the Carystian is ascribed an organic system of stylistic development that culminates in the Late Classical figure of Lysippus and declines thereafter. In this scheme, the sculptor–scholar situates his own activity as immediately following the period of acme. The South Italian sculptor Pasiteles, who wrote five volumes on famous works of art in the first century BCE, is thought to have represented a different system of organic development; its period of “bloom” coincides with Phidias and Polyclitus, consistent with the classicism of Pasiteles’ time. None of these writings is preserved, but all were known to well-read Romans of the Imperial epoch, so their schemes and themes recur in later writers, none of whom wrote an art history *per se*.

One is Pliny the Elder, whose *Natural History* is a massive encyclopedia of the physical world. He was a Roman aristocrat and scholar of the first century CE, who, in keeping with his upper-class Flavian environment, wrote from a Stoic, somewhat moralizing perspective. The comments on art occur in books 33–37; bronze sculpture is treated in the account of metals (34), and marble sculpture with the varieties of stone (36). In keeping with the eclectic nature of his work, Pliny draws from both traditions. After listing numerous sculptors and their dates, he focuses on five great masters in bronze sculpture, the three discussed in this chapter plus Pythagoras and Lysippus. No better work than the Phidian Zeus was ever made, he notes, and Polyclitus “is deemed to have perfected this science of statuary just as Phidias is considered to have revealed it.” Yet his treatment of Lysippus (as also for his contemporary Praxiteles) is equally laudatory, and, following the era of these sculptors and their pupils, in the 121st Olympiad (295–292), “cessavit deinde ars” (cf. box to Chapter 14). Art history begins, it seems, when art ends.

A different type of commentary on Greek sculpture occurs in the rhetorical treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, and Quintilian. Each uses the perceptual immediacy of visual art to clarify points concerning oratorical style, not only its development but also its persuasive effectiveness. Dionysius, more critic than historian, asserts that the styles of individual craftsmen were distinctive and distinguishable to the connoisseur/artist but that lesser artists should refrain from criticizing the work of past masters. A more historical approach is offered by the other two writers, each of whom preserves a sequence from "harder" to "softer" forms occurring from the early fifth century to its middle years; later artists are praised for delicacy and grace (end of the fifth century) or realism (fourth century). The era of bloom for both was the mid-fifth century and is characterized by the works of Polyclitus and Phidias. Their difference from the encyclopedist Pliny was less in date than in literary orientation and objectives. Cicero was a product of the Late Hellenistic "Atticizing" tradition of rhetoric, as well as art and philosophy, which was embraced also by Dionysius (a contemporary of Augustus) and persisted to the time of Quintilian (d. circa 100 CE), at which point it was reinforced by the Classicizing nostalgia of the Second Sophistic. Like Plutarch, they appreciated the persuasive power not of just the orators and thinkers of High Classical Greece, but its sculptors as well.

Well before Plutarch, during the ascendency of Hellenistic kings and Roman conquerors, it became commonplace to think of history – political, literary, and artistic – in terms of great individuals. Still today one thinks of art, particularly that of Europe from the Renaissance onward, as a sequence of artists and movements. However, a series of material and methodological issues problematizes such an approach to the study of Greek sculpture. As illustrated by the case of Plutarch and Phidias, literary sources do provide information about sculptors and sculptures, but they are almost never contemporary with what they are describing, and their objectives are seldom aligned with the interests of modern scholars. With an awareness of those objectives firmly in mind, one can only evaluate the information gleaned from texts and then check it against the evidence of the sculptures themselves. The construction of an artist's oeuvre from stylistic analysis is rooted in nineteenth-century **Morellian connoisseurship**, which sought to identify the telltale signs of an artist's hand in his signed works and, by detecting them in anonymous works, to propose attributions. The technique is used, for example, to organize the thousands of extant Greek painted vases. In sculpture, however, the essential signed originals all but disappear with the shift to bronze at the end of the Archaic period.

To fill the gap, scholars turn to Roman copies. During the late Republic and Empire, architectural spaces – public and private, interior and exterior – were filled with marble statues, many of which represent Greco-Roman gods and heroes in Classical style. Replica series within this corpus, in which two or more examples are sufficiently similar to suggest a common prototype, allow the creation of theoretical statue "types." Those that look sufficiently Classical in style are assigned a Classical origin and substituted for the corpus of original material that has not survived. The connoisseur then evaluates these types, as if they were statues, and seeks to identify them among the works attributed in the writings of Pliny, Pausanias, and a few others.

The problems with the process are many. The ancient attributions are rarely accompanied by description, so the connection of a particular type with a particular artist is based on its subject (and sculptors portrayed mostly the same subjects) and what is taken to be the artist's style. In the absence of originals, style is inferred from other attributed statue types, or, lacking these, the artist's presumed date of activity. The process also assumes that Classical sculptors had individual, recognizable styles, which is not self-evident (see box to Chapter 12) and the point to be demonstrated in the first place. Such circular reasoning is only the beginning of the problem. A more complicating fact is that only in the minority of cases do we have any compelling reason to believe that there ever was a "Greek original" behind a Roman copy series. It is certain that the Romans created entirely new statues, and replica series, in the styles of earlier periods, from Archaic to Hellenistic. That these could be stylistically indistinguishable from the copies is strongly suggested by scholarly disagreements over the Classical or Classicizing status of bronze "originals" such as the Riace Warriors (see Figure 8.12 later).

The Romans did copy Classical bronzes, and some of these copies have come down to us in series. A cache of casts of Classical sculpture unearthed at Baiae in 1950 makes this certain enough.

These casts also illustrate how different the Roman statues are from the bronzes they copied, especially in those fine surface details that are so important to close stylistic analysis and attribution. Moreover, since statues within each series vary from one another significantly, conceiving the types necessitates considerable subjectivity. Yet, without these copies we would have precious little to say about Classical sculptors or statuary at all. They *can* be useful if used with circumspection, focusing especially on those sculptors about whom we have the most, and most useful, information, those whom the ancients themselves held in highest esteem.

Myron and Realism

In their sequencing of sculptors (see box) both Cicero and Quintilian begin not with Daedalus and the other very early sculptors whose names we encountered above. Their first stage of development consists of statuary that was "hard," "rigid," or "Etruscan-like," and the artists they mention, such as Calamis, Canachos, Callon, and Hegesias, are shadowy figures who worked in the era of transition from Archaic to Classical. Both rhetoricians agree as well on a culminating point in stylistic development represented by Polyclitus and Phidias. Between the two groups, making works softer and more beautiful than before, but not yet at the point of perfection, is Myron. According to Pliny, Myron "seems to have been the first to extend the representation of reality, used more compositional patterns in his art than Polyclitus, and had a more complex system of symmetry" (*NH* 34.58; tr. Pollitt 1990, 49). Echoing the rhetorical tradition, Pliny's first observation coincides with Myron's reputation for making highly realistic statues, and the second suggests a structured and artificial approach, although with more variety than Polyclitus, who was reputed to have made statues after a single scheme (cf. below). Myron was thought of as a contemporary (perhaps older) of both Phidias and Polyclitus, and all three are recorded as being pupils of Ageladas of Argos. Myron's datable commissions range from 456 to 446, but only the dates are known (from victor lists) and not the statues, nor do we know which part of his career this decade represents, although the style of his works as preserved in copies suggests that he was active earlier.

Most of Myron’s cited works were in bronze, but Pliny praises his marble statue of a drunken old woman. Roman statues of this subject are, as the subject might suggest or even require, highly realistic in style with sunken eyes and deeply lined faces – caricatures of old age and inebriated abandon. Thus some have taken Pliny’s comment as mistaken and attribute the work to a homonymous artist of the Hellenistic era, when such extreme realism was in vogue. If this is correct, then Myron may have only worked in bronze. However, Myron’s work was known for its realism, and the Olympia sculptures document an interest in characterization at just this time, so it is not impossible that Myron did make such a statue, although it would have looked very different from the Roman ones that we have.

The source of Myron’s fame as a realist, however, was clearly his bronze cow, which, Pliny tells us, owed its fame to its being praised in popular epigrams, “for many people gain their reputations through someone else’s inventiveness rather than their own” (*NH* 34.57; tr. Pollitt 1990, 48). Pliny never misses an opportunity to make a moralizing observation. As it happens, some three dozen such verses are preserved, presenting a range of poetic attempts to capture the famous realism of the cow in words, the authors vying with one another in their treatment of the topos. Scholars have often dismissed these poems as idle literary exercises, although a recent study argues that they were intended as serious commentary on the failure of mimesis in both visual and verbal art, since they emphasize the statue’s quality of appearing to be what it is not and cannot be. This reflects a post-Platonic attitude toward being and seeming that has little to do with the time of Myron and everything to do with the Hellenistic and Roman worlds of the poets themselves. What the poems did not intend to do, moreover, is document Myron’s work in what we would consider an art historical manner, and we learn little more from them than that he created a work that became famed for its deceptive verisimilitude and that this reputation necessarily framed any ancient treatment (and some modern ones) of the sculptor and his works.

Like his teacher, Myron made statues of victorious athletes dedicated at Olympia, and these too were praised for their realism. An anonymous poem describes his statue of the runner Ladas: “As you once were, O Ladas, full of life, when you left behind wind-swift Thymos, straining your sinews as you ran on the tip of your toes, so did Myron cast you in bronze, and stamp everywhere on your body your anticipation of the crown of Pisa. He is full of hope, and on the edge of his lips the breath from his hollow flanks is visible; soon the bronze will leap for the crown, nor will the base be able to hold it back. Oh, art is swifter than a breath of wind” (*Anth. Gr.* 16.54; tr. Pollitt 1990, 51–52).

Of all his works in this genre, indeed of any kind, the most securely attributed is the Discobolus, identifiable from the description in Lucian: “the discus thrower who is bent over in the throwing position, is turned toward the hand that hold up the discus, and has the opposite knee gently flexed, like one who will straighten up after the throw…” (*Philopseudes* 18; tr. Pollitt 1990, 49) (Figure 8.1). This unusually useful description allows identification with a type well represented in the copy tradition. These replicas were, it seems, commonly displayed in aristocratic Roman houses, where Lucian’s character saw the one he describes together with copies of other famous works such as the Diadumenus (below) and the Tyrannicides. As Cicero implies in letters to his friend and art agent Atticus, such statues were set up in order to give whatever space they adorn the qualities of a Greek gymnasium – where both mind and body were nourished. Indeed, the ubiquity of this image, in addition to the poetic tradition, could explain Myron’s central position in Roman histories of sculptors. Scholars have noted the oddity of there being no record in Roman sources for the location of Myron’s bronze original, as also for the equally “famous” Doryphorus of Polyclitus. Yet both types were frequently copied and served a particular purpose in the context of Roman display. We are likely dealing here, and doubtless often elsewhere, with a “type” that was far more significant for its Roman usefulness than for its connection with any “original.”

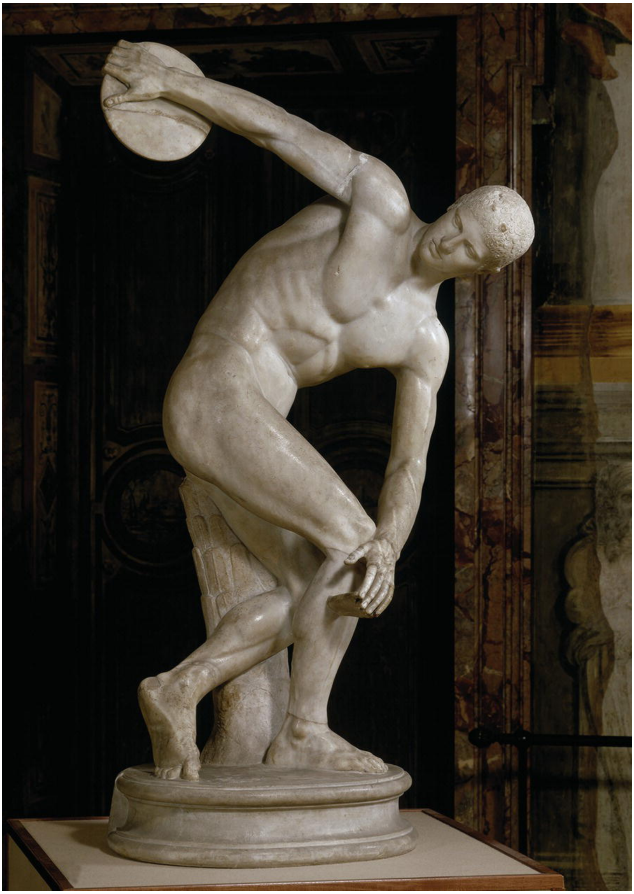


Figure 8.1 Myron. Discobolos. Roman marble copy of bronze circa 460–450. Rome, National Museum, Palazzo Massimo 126371. H. 5′ 1″ (1.55 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of Ministero Beni e Attività Culturali.

Myron’s Discobolus is therefore well known to us, one of a handful of iconic images of Classical sculpture in modern times, occurring for example on the official poster of the 1948 London Olympics. For a description of the pose, we cannot do much better than Lucian’s. As for style, the smooth facial features, impassive expression, and powerfully articulated anatomy are strongly reminiscent of the images of Heracles on the Olympia metopes. The face of Myron’s athlete is rather narrower than that of the hero, and his body is more slender. His anatomy, although both prominent and detailed, is less sharply divided; there is rectilinearity in the patterning, but the arcuated axis of the torso works very much against this. A date around mid-century, after Olympia and before the beginning of the Parthenon, seems likely.

As is clear from Lucian, it is the pose that defines the statue, a sentiment also brought out by Quintilian. In both rhetoric and sculpture, he says, varying the ways in which the different elements are arranged "provides a kind of liveliness and emotion… What work is there that is as distorted and elaborate as the Discobolus of Myron? But if anyone should criticize this work because it was not sufficiently upright, would he not reveal a lack of understanding of the art, in which the most praiseworthy quality is this very novelty and difficulty?" (*Inst. Orat.* 2.13.10; tr. Pollitt 1990, 50). He captures the quality of this statue as being "distorted and elaborate" but fails to bring out that Myron's art lay not just in its experimental implication of action, but in that he accomplishes this in a figure that is by no means realistic. Like the Artemision Zeus, the Discobolos is a formalized composite of tangent triangles compressed into an impossibly flat plane in order to create an "eloquent silhouette" (Figure 8.2). No thrower of the discus would ever assume this position, but it was the sculptor's aim to convey the idea of the vigorous activity rather than physically reproduce it. The pose, as Lucian captures well, implies both the previous coiling and subsequent uncoiling of the body, rendering this statue a novel, even synoptic, take on the "Classical Moment." The Discobolos is similarly liminal in the historical sequence of sculptural poses – contrasting with the persistent formalism of the Late Archaic and anticipating the three-dimensionality of the High Classical. This pivotal role in the development of style led to Myron's reputation for verisimilitude; realism is relative, a fact that made sophists wealthy.

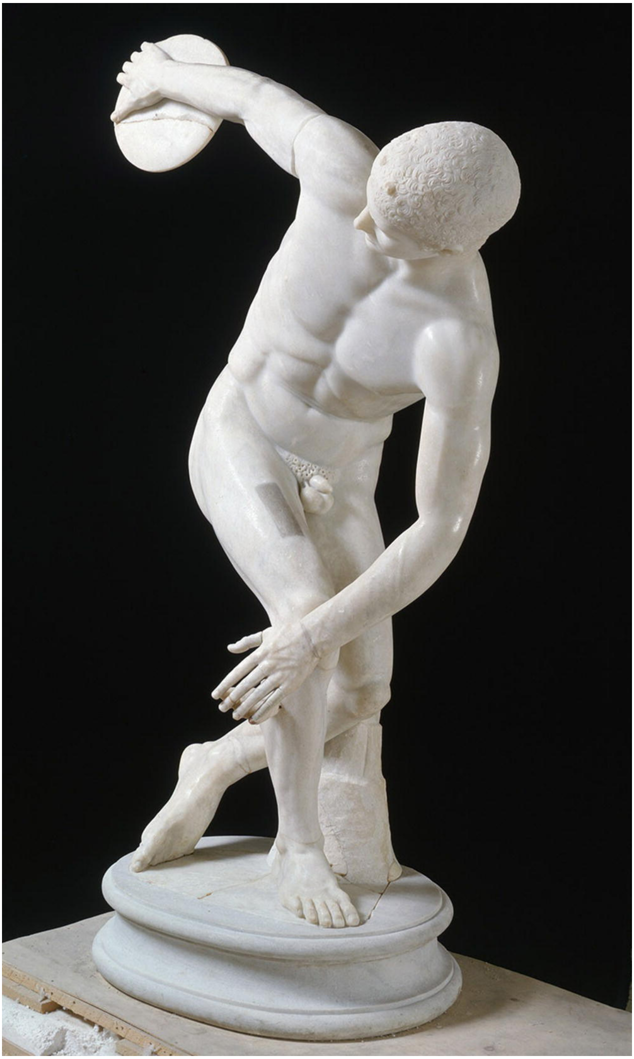


Figure 8.2 Side view of Figure 8.1.

Source: © Araldo de Luca/Corbis.

Myron also cast images of gods and heroes, but the sources suggest little about their appearance. Pliny's list includes a "satyr marveling at the flutes and a Minerva," and Pausanias notes, on the Acropolis, "an Athena striking Marsyas the silenos for picking up the flutes that she wanted thrown away" (1.24.1; tr. Levi, 67), but without attribution. Such a group is quoted in some later representations (including Classical red-figure), which, while inconsistent in details, suggest the Lateran Marsyas and Frankfurt Athena as possible replicas and enable a tentative reconstruction (Figures 8.3 and 8.4). According to the story, Athena saw her reflection while attempting to play the double flutes (*auloi*) and, disgusted by the resultant distortion of her face, cast them aside. Marsyas, despite being warned off by the goddess, picked them up with the recklessness of a satyr. He practiced to a point of proficiency, challenged Apollo to a contest, inevitably lost, and paid for his hubris with his life, flayed alive and strung up from a tree trunk.

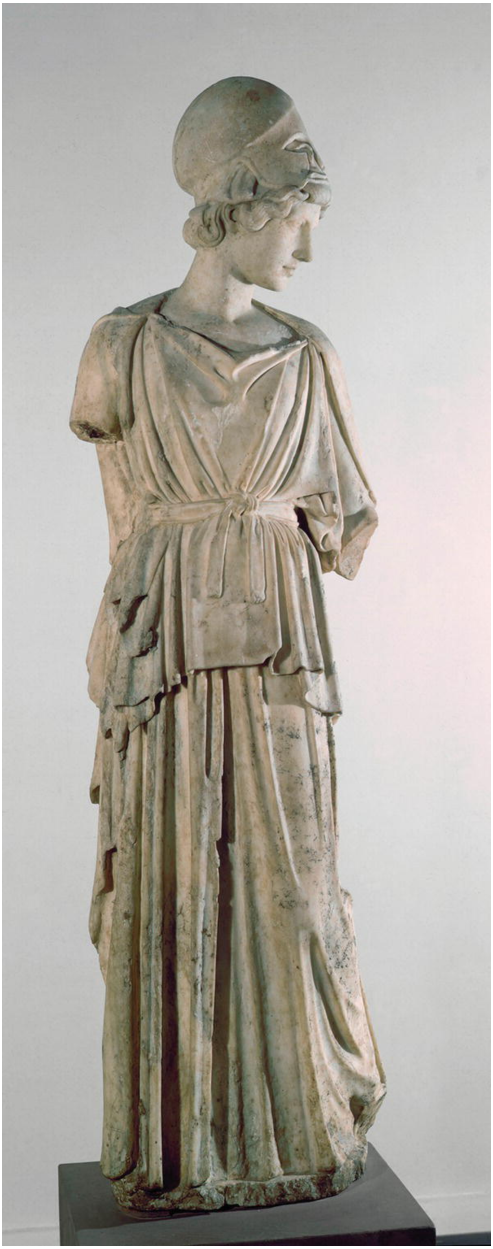


Figure 8.3 Frankfurt Athena. Possible marble copy of figure from Myron’s bronze group of Athena and Marsyas, circa 460–450. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Sculpture Collection 147. Marble. H. 5′ 8″ (1.73 m).

Source: akg-images.

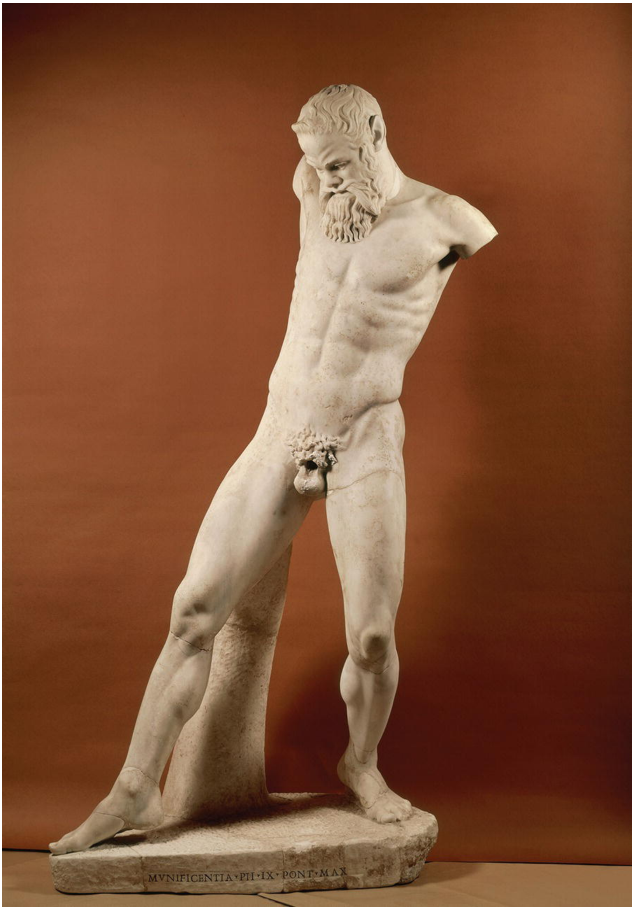


Figure 8.4 Lateran Marsyas. Possible marble copy of figure from Myron’s bronze group of Athena and Marsyas, circa 460–450. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Profano BS 225. Marble. H. 5′ 3″ (1.59 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence.

Myron foregoes the gore of the aftermath (the subject of a Hellenistic group) and chooses, in Classical fashion, a moment that suggests what came before and what is yet to come, reaffirming the inevitable and often cruel justice of the Olympians. Like the Olympia Centauromachy, it foregrounds the necessity of *sophrosyne* through stylistic contrast, here between the faces of silen and goddess. In Myronian fashion, Marsyas' recoil is both momentary and stable, organized by a pattern of triangles, expressive and immediately comprehensible in outline. Athena is similarly conceived in outline; she stands quietly in her peplos; her agitation is limited to the gesture of her left hand, which directs her gaze, and the viewer's, toward the central object of the narrative – the *auloi*. The peplos's thick folds reveal a pose quite different from what has come before. Her free leg is not simply advanced or retracted, but shifted to the side, revealing knowledge of the new Polyclitan system (see below). The poses, like the facial features, capture the essential contrast between god and satyr, and, at the same time, perfectly illustrate the transition from Early to High Classical around 450. Perhaps too perfectly: many reject the attribution altogether, since the evidence is both slight and weak, and the group remains a modern construct.

Polyclitus and his Canon

Myron and Polyclitus had the same teacher, a connection that persists in the comparisons of Pliny, Quintilian, and Cicero, but it was Polyclitus who became his master's successor as Argos' most renowned sculptor. All were famed for their statues of athletic victors, a market to which Polyclitus came to be especially devoted. His career began before mid-century, since he executed at least one statue for an Olympic victor of 452. Other attributions, as late as circa 420 or even circa 400, are less secure, but the former date is still plausible and agrees with the date that Pliny assigns in his occasionally accurate chronology. Yet lifetimes could be long in Classical Greece, the contributions of a senior sculptor need not have been physically taxing, and the late date coincides with his only prominent commission for a temple statue. This was for the Argive Heraeum, in chryselephantine, yet his reputation as the most eminent artist in that polis has led some to reject the attribution altogether; he is otherwise known only as a sculptor in bronze. Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 12.10.7-8) indicates that his works lacked *pondus* (weight or, more likely, dignity) and, "while he gave to the human form an appropriateness which surpassed the ordinary, he seems not to have expressed the impressiveness (*auctoritas*) of the gods" (tr. Pollitt 1990, 222). Rather, it is this appropriateness (*decor*), as well as precision (*diligentia*), for which he was praised, the former quality being also described as "*supra verum*," which, however one translates (beyond truth?), should be connected with the highly conceptual nature of his work. Cicero (*Brutus*, 70) assesses his works as *pulchriora* (more beautiful) than those of his predecessors, including Myron, and *perfecta* in the author's own opinion. As in Plutarch's comments on the Parthenon, the implication is of a period of "bloom," in this case in the development of bronze statuary.

The primary focus of the literary sources on Polyclitus, however, is the system of proportions that he illustrated in a statue and a written treatise, each of which was called the "Canon;" as Pliny put it, "he alone of men is judged to have rendered art itself in a work of art" (*NH* 34.55; tr. Pollitt 1990, 75). Especially informative on this system are the Roman-era physician Galen and the Hellenistic engineer Philo Mechanicus, whom one can synthesize and summarize as follows: the intention and result of constructing and illustrating the Canon was to create both an ideal representation of the human form and an abstract, systematic way of deriving the measurements and proportions needed to recreate it. Artists did in fact use the statue and the treatise as a model from which they drew their forms (*lineamenta*) "as if from some law." The governing principle of the canon was **symmetria**, a commensurability of each part of the body to the other parts and to the whole. Two quotes attributed to the artist are much discussed. The first is from Philo: "Perfection arises *para micron* through many numbers" (*Syntaxis* 4.1, tr. Pollitt 1990, 77). This should allude to the many measurements and calculations that go into both deriving and applying the canon, but it can suggest a gradual process ("bit by bit"), one that uses very minute measurements ("by small degrees"), or one that accommodates, even requires, certain small deviations or approximations ("except for a little"). The second, from Plutarch, reads "The work is hardest when the clay is on the nail" (*Moralia* 636c, tr. Pollitt 1990, 77). Variously interpreted over the years, this statement seems now fairly straightforward in the context of the indirect casting process. The prototype (the stage in the work that required the master sculptor) was in clay, so he may simply be referring to the final touches applied by hand to that model, since these would recur in every subsequent casting. In fact, the very process of creating such a prototype may have prompted the development of a model for emulation and a canon of proportions.

Both Pliny and Plutarch mention among his works a Doryphorus (spear-bearer). The former distinguishes it from the Canon, but the latter mentions it as a model used by artists for its beautiful forms, so most modern scholars take this Doryphorus to be his Canon. Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 5.12.21, tr. Pollitt 1990, 77) adds that it was a figure "suitable both for the military and the wrestling court," suggesting an iconographic ambiguity that both embodies the always intimate connection between military service and athletics and befits the conceptual nature of Polyclitus' model. The Doryphorus is identified in a statuary type of which there are numerous copies, variants, adaptations, and reflections. Had it been Polyclitus' intention to be imitated he would not have been disappointed. Two well-preserved replicas, in Naples and Minneapolis, differ considerably in the style of their anatomical details, which are thus far less easy to re-recreate than the figure's pose and structure (Figures 8.5 and 8.6). The carving of the latter is more richly textured than that of the Pompeii replica, and it more closely resembles contemporary bronzes, yet each has been seen as the truer reflection of Polyclitus' original. The face is smooth, idealized, and impassive, not unlike those of the Parthenon figures, but a little less delicate. The hair, with its crescent-shaped curls, was carefully patterned in a manner not unlike, but developed from, Myron's discus thrower.

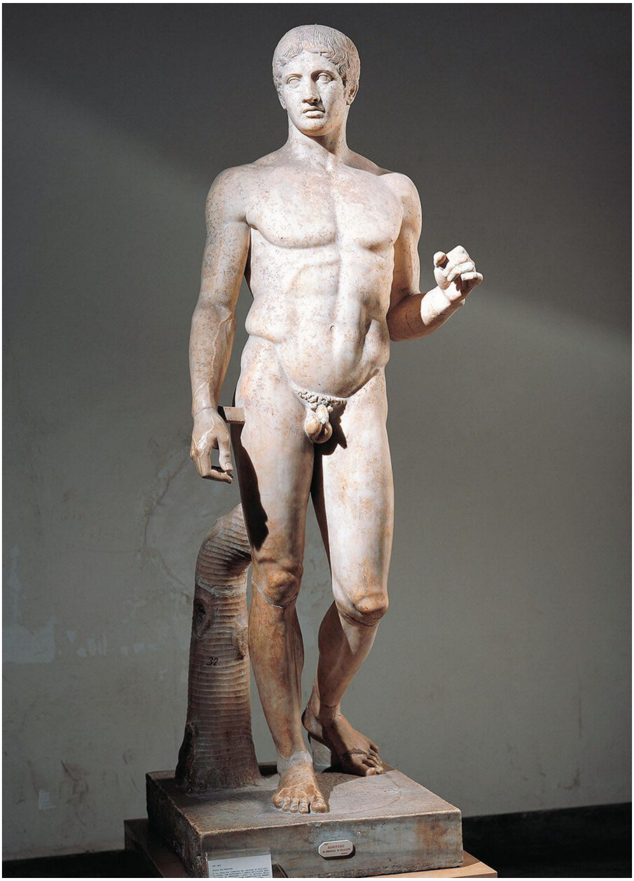


Figure 8.5 Polyclitus. Doryphorus. Roman marble copy of bronze, circa 450–440. From the palaestra at Pompeii. Naples. National Archaeological Museum 146. H. 6′ 8″ (2.02 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti.

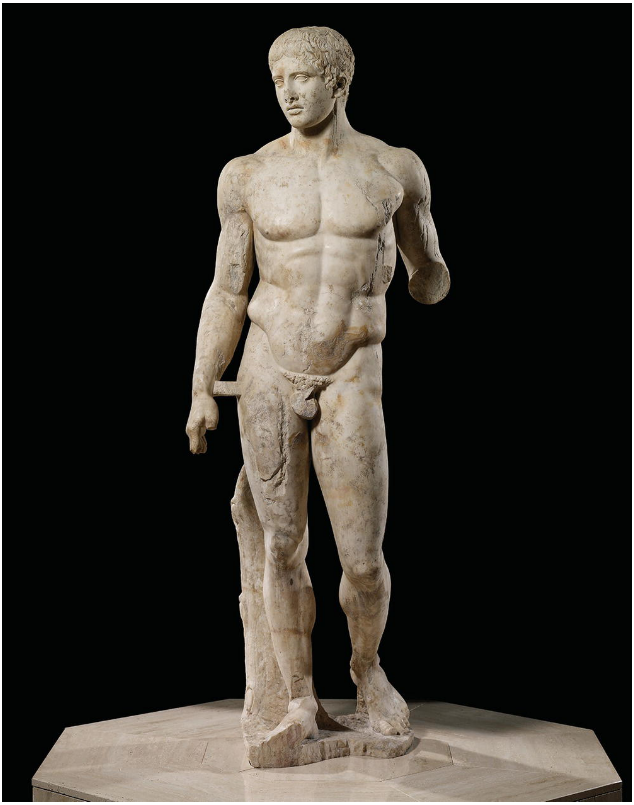


Figure 8.6 Polyclitus. Doryphorus. Roman marble copy of bronze, circa 460–450. Minneapolis, Institute of Arts G230. H. 6′ 6″ (1.98 m).

Source: Minneapolis, Institute of Arts.

Identification of the type relies on Pliny’s brief description of the Polyclitan pose. “It was strictly his invention to have his statues throw their weight on one leg. Varro, says, however that they are all *quadratus* (“squared?”) and after the same pattern” (34.56, tr. Pollitt 1990, 76). It is not clear what is meant here by *quadratus*, perhaps block-like, or frontal, but the emphasis on repeated pattern fits the concept of canon. Yet neither those features nor weight-shift was sufficiently innovative in the mid-fifth century to account for Polyclitus’ inclusion among the greatest of sculptors. Using both the sources and the copies, however, Polyclitus’ contribution can be identified and described through the terms **contrapposto** and **chiasmos**. The former is often used for any weight-shift but is properly limited to the specific kind of pose seen here. Early Classical statues are posed with the free leg simply bent, displaced, and flat-footed, while Polyclitan contrappostal figures stand with the mass of the upper body entirely on the weight-bearing leg, and the free leg, shifted back and to the side, rests gently on its toes. Polyclitus here exploits the advantages of bronze, like Myron and the sculptor of the Artemision Zeus. Like them as well, he uses geometric structure to capture the ambiguity between the timeless and the momentary, but here he applies these recent advances to an age-old subject: the quietly standing male nude. Thus, the Doryphorus neither stands nor walks; it is neither momentary nor permanent. As Plutarch suggests for the Parthenon, Polyclitus has created a perfect, ideal form frozen in perpetuity as an object of wonder and emulation. Chiasmos serves much the same purpose. Polyclitan weight shift creates and is conveyed through an interrelationship of parts that is itself described as a dynamically symmetrical pattern of musculoskeletal features – a balancing of opposites, across the median axis of the body. This axis is expressed by the strongly curved line that diagrams the torso's vertical thrust. On either side of it, the chiastic principle is reflected in both the positioning of limbs and the sharply defined muscular forms: bent to straight, tensed to relaxed, compressed to expanded.

A side view shows how, despite the apparent frontality, this interrelationship of parts extends into the third dimension. In the tradition of the Critian Boy, this figure reacts to its own mass, creating a three-dimensional form that defines the space around it; it is frontal but not flat. Each part of the Doryphorus relates to its whole in ways that are obvious, expressive, and highly rational. Moreover, Polyclitus' structuring of the human body, which is often taken as pure abstraction, is sometimes said to rely on close anatomical observation and analysis. Hippocratic medical texts of this time reflect an interest in the two conspicuous features of the Polyclitan system: the rational relationships among the parts of the body and the system of binary opposites used to express it. Polyclitus' art is equally conceptual and perceptual, both intellectualized and humanistic. He sought to reinvest the increasingly naturalistic sculpture of the Early Classical period with the permanence and transcendence that made Archaic art so effective a medium for the portrayal of the heroic and the divine. The Doryphorus is often styled a Classical kouros, sharing with this schema clearly defined anatomical forms, canonical proportions, and an ambiguous pose; both Doryphorus and kouros were, to use Varro's term, "*quadratus*." As a Classical statue, the Doryphorus requires a viewer that is more fully involved in reasoning through the implications of the statue's forms than is the viewer of a kouros, which asserts its otherworldly quality with blissfully smiling confidence.

Many works are attributed to Polyclitus by their formal similarity to the Doryphorus, but, were his intentions for that statue realized, then the agonistic sanctuaries would have been bursting with statues cast according to his Canon. The most plausible candidate is the first of his works listed by Pliny, a *diadumenus* noted for having cost 100 talents, which he distinguishes as "*molliter juvenem*," as opposed to the doryphorus, a "*viriliter puerum*," in a nicely poetic parallel construction. A *puer* should be younger than a *juvenis*, but the former is said to look "manly" and the latter "soft" – yet another example of chiasmos and ambiguity. *Diadumenus* ("one tying off") indicates a victorious athlete who ties a fillet, his prize, around his head; the composition is a High Classical response to more active images of agonistic excellence such as the Discobolos. The Diadumenus type usually connected with Polyclitus is famous for two reasons (Figure 8.7). A nearly intact version found on Delos, archaeologically datable to around 100, shows that the production of Roman copies originated in Greece well before they occured in any quantity in Rome. Second, when the Metropolitan Museum acquired a fragmentary Diadumenus in 1925, it used a cast of the Delos copy for the reconstruction of its missing parts. It was discovered that the two statues were of precisely the same form and dimensions, demonstrating the existence of a mechanical copying process, probably a relatively simple one using calipers, in antiquity.

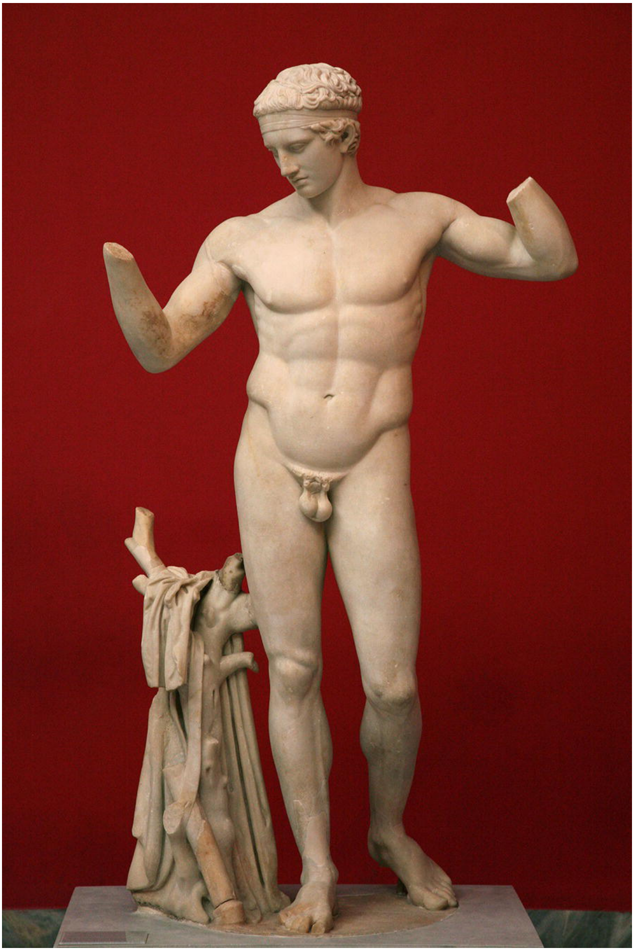


Figure 8.7 Polyclitus. Diadumenus. Marble copy of bronze, circa 430. Found on Delos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1826. H. 6′ 5″ (1.95 m).

Source: © VPC Travel Photo/Alamy.

The positioning of the legs reveals the affinities of this work to that of Polyclitus, and the head differs from the Doryphorus' precisely in accord with Pliny's characterization. Its idealized features are more delicate, and the hairstyle is much more deeply carved and richly patterned; both traits are decidedly "softer" on the Diadumenus than on the Doryphorus, although much closer to the Minneapolis than the Naples replica. The Diadumenus was likely created later, but by how much? The poses of the two statues are, on closer inspection, quite different. The legs of the two types are indeed similarly positioned, but the Diadumenus' action logically demands a standing, not striding, pose; the essential ambiguity of Polyclitan contrapposto gives way to what seems an imitation more than a variant. Reinforcing this impression is the positioning of the arms and torso. Pulling the fillet, his action broadens the upper part of the figure diagonally along a single plane, a feature that is reinforced by the sharp turn of the head to near profile. The left arm and shoulder, retracted in the Doryphorus, shift forward here, creating a two-dimensional "eloquent silhouette," appropriate more to Polyclitus' predecessors than to what one would expect of his own advanced work. Consequently, critical elements of Polyclitus' art – contrapposto, chiasmos, dynamic balance of frontality and three-dimensionality, and the intellectually engaging ambiguity of pose – utterly disappear. The obvious features of Polyclitus' work are here, but an understanding of it is wanting; is this Polyclitus' or Polyclitan? Late Hellenistic Greece (and especially Delos) was a place where Classicizing statuary was in great vogue (see Chapter 14). It is certain that such works made it into the repertoire of Roman replicas; perhaps the Diadumenus is one. Again, were it Polyclitus' hope to be emulated, he may also have achieved this goal in ways he might not have anticipated.

Phidias and Phantasia

The third of Ageladas' exceptional trio of students, by some accounts, was Phidias the Athenian. Unlike his colleagues, Phidias was equally known for works in bronze, marble, and chryselephantine and is also said to have been a painter. His employment on the Parthenon and at Olympia together must have taken up most of the third quarter of the century. Two very prominent commissions are mentioned by Pausanias as having been set up from a tithe of the spoils from Marathon – a colossal bronze Athena on the Acropolis (called "Promachos" by another source) and a statue group at Delphi depicting ten Athenian heroes with Apollo, Athena, and the general Miltiades. We cannot know how long after 490 these were set up, but the presence of the mortal Athenian on the latter suggests the involvement of his son

Cimon, indicating a date before his ostracism in 461. Pliny begins his list of sculptors with Phidias, placing him in the 83rd Olympiad (448/5).

While Quintilian compares and contrasts Polyclitus and Myron as specialists in athletic statuary, Phidias seems to work in a different tradition:

> Phidias is credited with being more skillful in making images of gods than of men, and in the working of ivory he is thought to be far beyond any rival and would be so even if he had made nothing besides his Athena in Athens and Olympian Zeus in Elis, the beauty of which seems to have added something to traditional religion, to such an extent is the majesty of the work equal to the majesty of the god.
>
> (*Inst. Orat*. 12.10.10, tr. Pollitt 1990, 223).

Most recorded Phidian works represent gods, many are cult statues, and only one (a diadumenus) is a victor monument. Cicero adds this comment on the Zeus and Athena:

> Surely (Phidias), when he made the form of his Zeus or Athena, was not contemplating any human model from whom he took a likeness, but rather some extraordinary vision of beauty resided in his own mind, and, fixing his mind on this and intuiting its nature, he directed his hand and his art toward making a likeness from it.
>
> (*Orator* 9, tr. Pollitt 1990, 223–224).

Philostratus (d. circa 250 CE), a primary figure of the Second Sophistic and thus conversant with the writings of both Latin rhetoricians, reprises the theme and introduces the concept of *phantasia* in the passage quoted in the Preface. Dio Chrysostomus as well, roughly contemporary with Plutarch and thus a century earlier than Philostratus, suggests much the same when he suggests, in his 12th (Olympic) oration, that the sculptor drew his inspiration for the Zeus from Homer’s verse, not from life or visual art. Phidias, therefore, came to be thought of as the master of his era in portraying the divine not from his skill at the imitation, analysis, and idealized materialization of naturally occurring forms, but because he had the capacity to visualize the divine and bring his *phantasia* to physical reality. The concept originated in the Platonic devaluation of material mimesis, was further developed in the nostalgic classicism of the Hellenistic and Roman intellectual worlds, is clearly detectible already in Cicero's comment above, and develops further in the intellectual circles of the Second Sophistic and Neo-Platonism. While the idea of phantasia thus reflects later discourse on the visual and psychological power of the Classical, there was nonetheless something in the works of Phidias that gave credence to the idea – a quality about which we can only speculate.

For obvious logistical reasons, the Zeus and Athena, each just under 40 feet high and constructed from gold, ivory, glass, and paint over a wooden and metal armature and core, were not candidates for copying in the conventional Roman sense. Both are described by ancient sources, but Pausanias' detailed account of the Zeus is primarily a catalogue of the mythological scenes on the statue's base, throne, and precinct wall. We do learn that it was enthroned and crowned, holding a Nike in the right hand and a scepter in the left. This allows the identification of representations on Roman coins of Elis, which show him draped and sitting bolt-upright, in contrast with the lassitude of his figure on the Parthenon frieze. Olympia was Zeus' sanctuary and there he was on the alert, ready as both judge and recipient of cult. Although Phidias' creation was included in Hellenistic lists of the Seven Wonders of the World, no other copies of it survive at any scale, although some Roman cult statues of Jupiter likely referenced it.

The situation is quite different for the Athena, of which there are numerous reflections in various media. From the sources it is known that the goddess held a Nike in one hand and a spear in the other, with her shield and a snake, symbolizing the literally autochthonous king Erechthonius. She wore an aegis with gorgoneion; her central helmet crest was supported by a sphinx, those to either side by griffins. On the exterior of her shield was an Amazonomachy in relief, on the interior was shown a Gigantomachy (apparently painted), and on her sandals a Centauromachy. On the statue base the birth of Pandora was shown, with 20 gods in attendance. Two smallish versions of the statue, both Roman works from Athens, help give form to the descriptions. One was first recognized by French archaeologist

Charles Lenormant, for whom it is named (Figure 8.8); the other was found in in a Roman gymnasium near the Varvakion lyceum (Figure 8.9). Each shows a female figure standing upright and frontal, draped in a Doric peplos belted over a long overfold. She stands in a weight-shift pose with her free leg displaced to the side and slightly back, but she lacks the animated ambiguity of the Doryphorus. Her more stable stance befits her function as both symbol of and medium for divine presence. The aegis, symmetrically draped over the chest and long down the back, has a scaly surface, plastic applied snakes, and central gorgoneion. The snake and shield are at Athena’s left and the Nike is in her right hand is supported by a column in the Varvakion figure, likely not part of the original. Both statues preserve the head, but only the Varvakion shows the helmet crests, which are exactly as Pausanias describes. Roman copies seldom provide an effective vehicle for detecting the nuances of facial representation, yet we might conclude that the face of the Parthenos looked much like those of the goddesses on the frieze (e.g., Artemis, Figure 7.11).

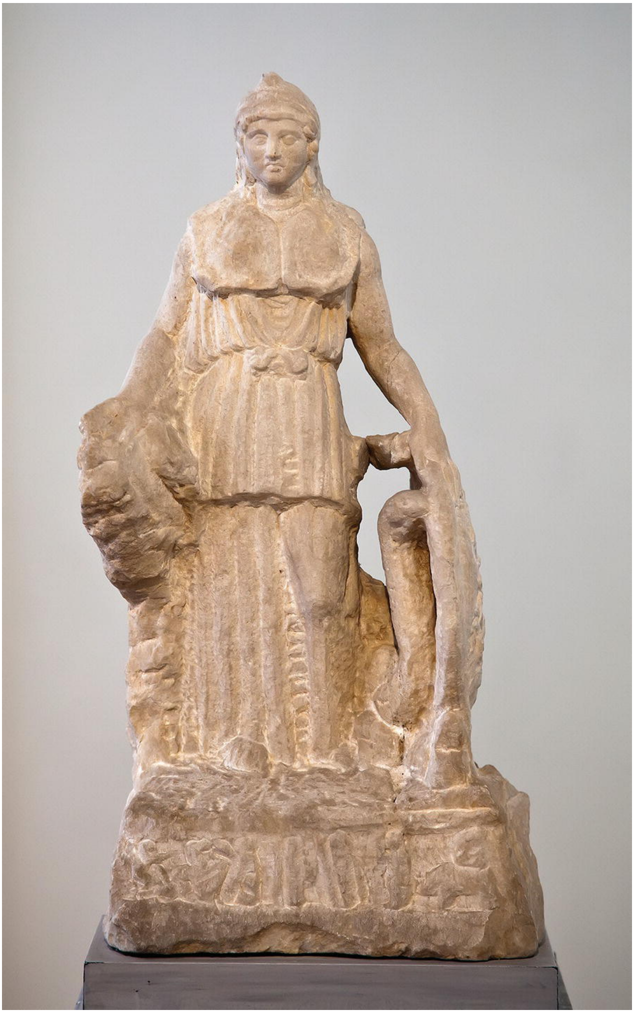


Figure 8.8 Phidias. Athena Parthenos. “Lenormant Athena.” Marble reduced replica of colossal chryselephantine figure dedicated in 438. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 128. H. 1′ 5″ (0.42 m).

Source: Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

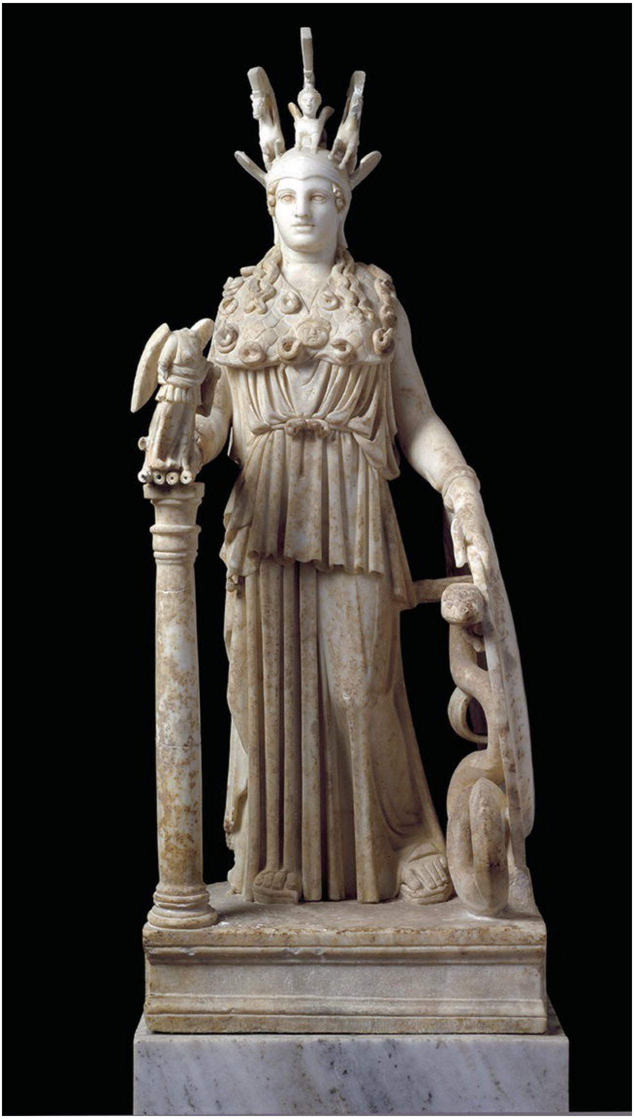


Figure 8.9 Phidias. Athena Parthenos. “Varvakeion Athena.” Marble reduced replica of colossal chryselephantine figure dedicated in 438. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 129. H. 3′ 5″ (1.05 m).

Source: Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

The more summary Lenormant statue partially preserves the reliefs on base and shield, evidence that, supplemented by other copies, allows the whole to be reconstructed. Useful as well is a series of **Neo-Attic** (cf. Chapter 14) panels from the second century CE that copy, to scale, figural groupings from the shield (Figure 8.10). These provide, in some accounts, the closest look at the hand of the master himself. Although the relief is higher, the style is entirely consistent with that of the Parthenon frieze, which was set up at precisely the same time as the statue. This group with a heroic youth pulling the hair of an armed Amazon repeats a motif seen on some copies of the statue, justifying the use of these reliefs for reconstruction of the whole (Figure 8.11). The figure of the youth derives from Aristogiton, and other figures here reference Harmodius and, surely, other works of sculpture (and painting?) famous then but now lost. The figures a1nd groupings on the shield either formed or were taken from a figural repertoire that had enormous impact on later developments, since they recur constantly hereafter not only in battle scenes, but also adapted to hunt scenes and other contexts (cf. Figures 13.5 and 13.6). It is also from such reliefs that a masonry background is included for a part of the scene, indicating that it is the defense of the Athenian Acropolis from invading Amazons that is specifically depicted, thus strengthening the local connection through allusion to both the Persian sack and Pericles' fortification policy.

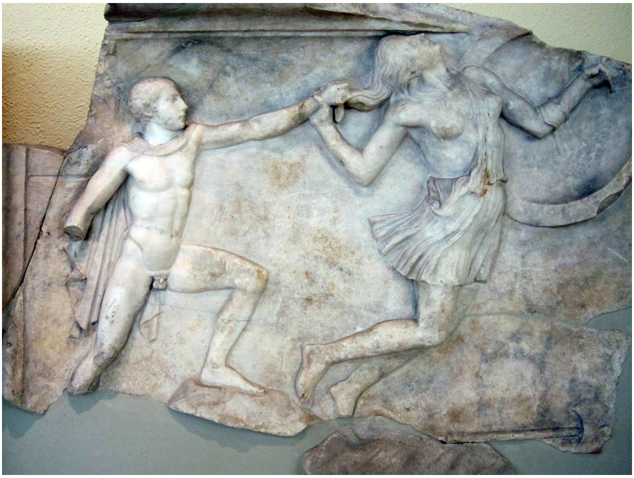


Figure 8.10 Neo-Attic relief with hair-pulling scene from Parthenos shield. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum. Marble. H. 3′ (0.92 m).

Source: © World History Archive/Alamy.

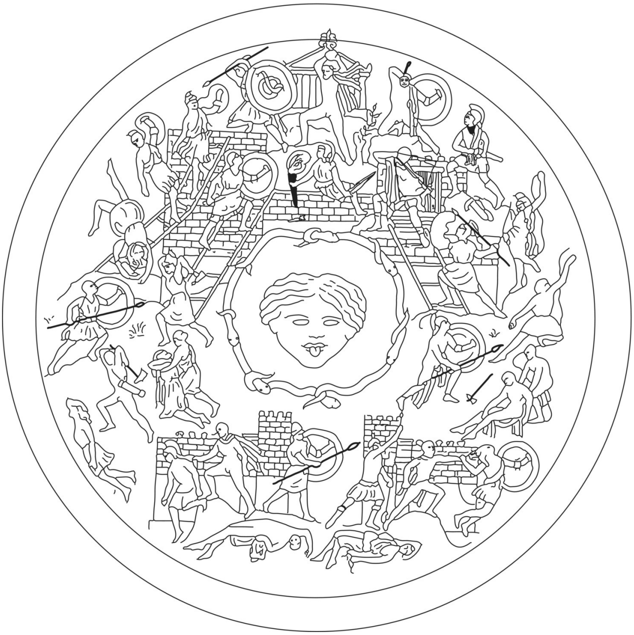


Figure 8.11 Parthenos shield reconstruction after E.B. Harrison. *AJA* 85 (1981) 297, ill. 4.

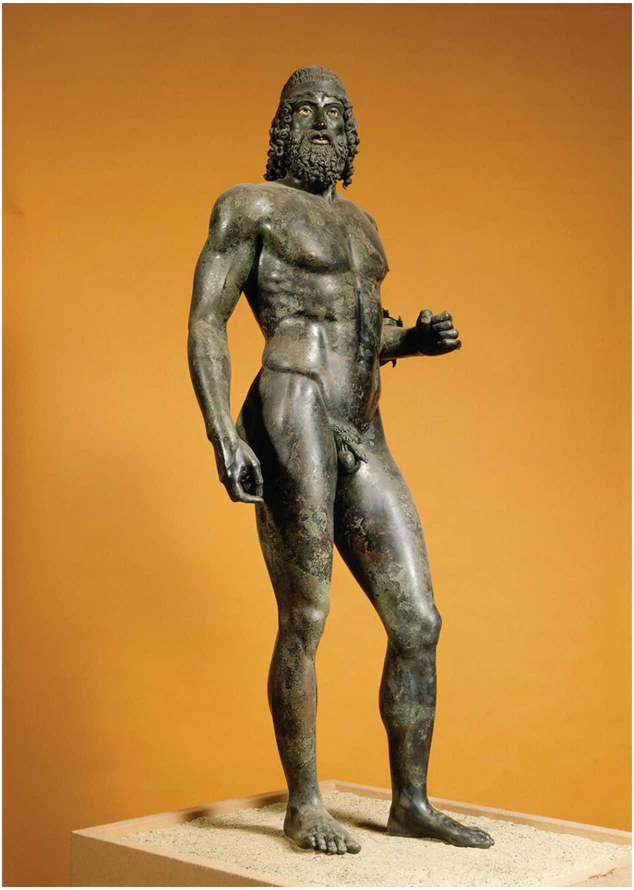
The Amazonomachy was but one part of the Parthenos' iconographic program, which resonates with that of the Parthenon itself. Three subjects repeat those of the metopes, and, as noted above, the statue was visually linked, through the temple's front door, with the Athena-oriented program of the east façade. The building was designed to showcase the statue, and the statue reflects the program of the building, weaving together a single persuasive illustration of the inherent greatness of Athena and her people. Only the subject of the statue base seems to stand apart; its exact connection to the rest is much discussed. Some are obvious; Pandora was created by Hephaestus at the bidding of Zeus and was dressed, nurtured, and taught weaving by Athena. Formed of clay by the smith god, she is quite literally autochthonous and her creation is re-enacted by the art of sculpture itself. The scene adorns the base of the Athenians' most spectacular *agalma*, or pleasing gift, to Athena, and Pandora's name of course means "all gifts." The ambivalent, even ironic, nature of the gods' responses to worshippers' entreaties that the myth of Pandora captures (*her* gifts were mostly malevolent) may or may not be the point here. The scene is also taken as an index of the "limits of humanism," which introduces another level of circumspection into the program; the artists of this age were interested in making their audiences think. Finally, those wanting Erechtheids in the frieze note that one of these virgin princesses was sometimes named Pandora, suggesting a completely different birth from that traditionally assumed, and tying the statue's program to the temple's more intimately still.

The extraordinary range of media in which he worked, the massiveness of his two great commissions, not to mention Plutarch's comment that he was the *episkopos* (overseer) of Pericles' entire building program, all make Phidias seem rather different from his peers – as much a master contractor as a master sculptor. He executed several of the most conspicuous monuments erected "from the spoils of Marathon," not only the aforementioned Marathon monument at Delphi and colossal bronze Athena on the Acropolis, but also the acrolithic–gold Athena Areia at Plataea, which, Pausanias says, was only slightly smaller than the Parthenos. About another work, the Athena Lemnia, we hear only of its great beauty. Its head and body have long been recognized in separate Roman types, but the association of the two and the identification as Classical have both been disputed, and the reconstruction must be taken as speculative.

The legendary "beauty" of Phidias' figures of the gods is not easy to recreate, although the modern attempt in Nashville, at the scale of the original, captures something of the Parthenos' impact. The glimpses we do have suggest that his style was represented by the sculptures of the Parthenon, similar to but stylistically advanced from the Olympia sculptures and influenced by the theorizing approach of Polyclitus. Phidias sought to capture the timeless, remote, and dispassionate aspect of the Olympians, symbols of order in the universe. He was entrusted with such expensive and extensive projects because *his* genius was less in his stylistic innovations than in his marshaling of the spectacular; his images startled the viewer with their extraordinary scale and dazzlingly bright and colorful materials. At Athens and Olympia these were set up behind large reflecting pools not only to enhance through reflection the visual effect of the statue but also to reinforce physically the metaphysical separation between divine and human realms. It was in this way that he sought to recreate the indescribable experience of divine apparition, embodying in material form his own *phantasia*.

The Riace Warriors

Two bronze statues from the period have been connected in various ways with several of the master sculptors of the fifth century (Figure 8.12). They were discovered in 1972 less than 1000 feet off the coast of Riace in south Italy. No remains of an associated shipwreck have been found. Although there has been disagreement about practically every aspect of these statues, the similarity in the composition and thickness of the bronze and the casting technique itself suggest that they are contemporary products from a single workshop, and no technical feature clearly indicates a time of production later than the mid-fifth century, which is the earliest possible stylistic date. Yet they are not without problems.



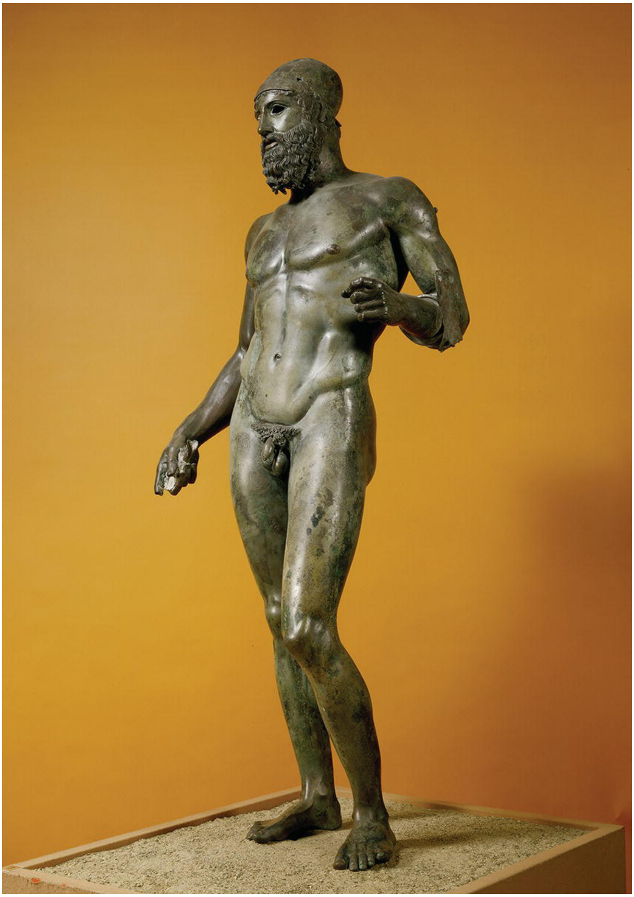


Figure 8.12 Riace Warriors A and B. Reggio di Calabria, Archaeological Museum. Bronze. Circa 450. H. 6′ 6″ (1.98 m).

Source: © 2015 Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of Ministero Beni e Attività Culturali.

“Warrior A” turns his head sharply to proper right. A band around the forehead separates a regular arrangement of parallel wavy lines in low relief over the skull above from a rich profusion of cascading curls below, continued by a stylistically similar long wavy beard. His face is broad, flat, and simply formed; his eyebrows project plastically, and his eyes are slightly hooded. The head of “Warrior B” is entirely different. It turns only slightly to the right. The crown is unworked and the ears are crudely modeled, since they were originally hidden by a helmet. The face of B is narrower and longer, his eyes wide open, his brows incised. The hair barely peeks out from under his headband/helmet, and his beard is far less elaborate than that of A, consisting of a pattern of wavy locks in relatively low relief. The differences in the bodies are far subtler. Both stand with weight on the right leg; remains of straps on the left arm indicate the presence of a shield; in the right hand most would restore a spear, although a sword is not impossible. Both pivot their shoulders slightly to reflect the turn of the head, giving their frontality a three-dimensionality resembling that of the Doryphorus. The dimensions and proportions of the bodies are identical, and the poses and style of rendering the powerful anatomical structures are very close. Compared with A, B is slightly more slope shouldered, shifts his weight more markedly, appears very slightly slenderer in the torso, and displaces his free leg somewhat more sharply to the side.

What to make of the differences? While both show mature nude heroes armed in military guise, the more erect and attentive A is thought to depict a more youthful figure than the more relaxed B. The differences have also been taken to indicate a difference in date of two or more decades, which, if they were made at the same time, means either that both are late Classicizing works or that stylistic features long held to be chronologically diagnostic are no such thing. Deeper understanding of indirect casting techniques has offered another answer: that both bodies were made after the same master model. The differences would then reflect deliberate variations introduced with the assembly of the final wax prototype from which the bronze was cast.

What then were they and who might have made them? Most likely, they come from one of the many commemorative bronze statue groups set up in Greek sanctuaries, such as Phidias’ Marathon monument, although the date accepted for this particular monument, circa 465, should be too early, and there were many such groups. As for authorship, the weight shift and powerfully articulated anatomy recall the Doryphorus, but the stance is clearly not the one we associate with Polyclitus. The free leg here is not retracted and set lightly on the toes, but is advanced and flatfooted. This is the stance called Phidian as opposed to Polyclitan, or just as often Attic rather than Peloponnesian, but this is more a convention than a meaningful classification.

These two bronze originals from the mid-fifth century both conclude and complement our survey of the “masters” of this time. New archaeological finds, it is hoped, will expand our knowledge, but it can seem a step backward when they cause us to question, or even abandon, what we have always believed. The schemes used for reconstructing the output of artists such as Myron, Polyclitus, and Phidias rely on literary sources, a perceived copy tradition, and comparisons with architectural sculpture. The difficulties of interpretation that arise when faced with the real thing should cause us to re-evaluate scholarly methods long taken for granted. Rather than shoehorn such finds into an understanding of the classical based largely on indirect evidence, old conceptions must be refigured on the basis of these original works. Yet, finds like the Riace warriors do reassure us in one important assumption – that however we identify, attribute, and analyze them, the works from these masters’ hands were masterpieces indeed.

9

Unfinished Business: Pericles' Programs and the Archidamian War (circa 430–420)

Echoing his own comment about Myron's fame as a realist depending on the works of others, Pliny says of the sculptor Cresilas "He also made the Olympian Pericles, a work worthy of the title; it is a marvelous thing about this art that it can make even famous men more famous" (*NH* 34.74; trans. Pollitt 1990, 69). The power of portraiture was patent in Pliny's Flavian Rome, already ingrained in the culture for centuries and continually encountered in spaces both public and private. In Athens of the High Classical period public honorific portraits were, apparently, very rare. It is therefore difficult to imagine the circumstances for commissioning, and thus the date, of the original behind a type preserved in five copies (Figure 9.1). Pausanias saw a portrait of Pericles on the Acropolis, but one would normally expect it not to have been set up before the fourth century, when such portraits became more common. If so, its artist accurately recreated the sculptural style of the subject's own time, a not so startling achievement if they were working in the increasingly retrospective and stylistically sophisticated milieu of Late Classical and Hellenistic times. Yet Pliny also records as artist the Cretan Cresilas, an epigraphically documented fifth-century master; if he is correct, Pericles was revered so far beyond his peers that an honorific portrait was not considered unseemly even during his lifetime, or shortly thereafter.

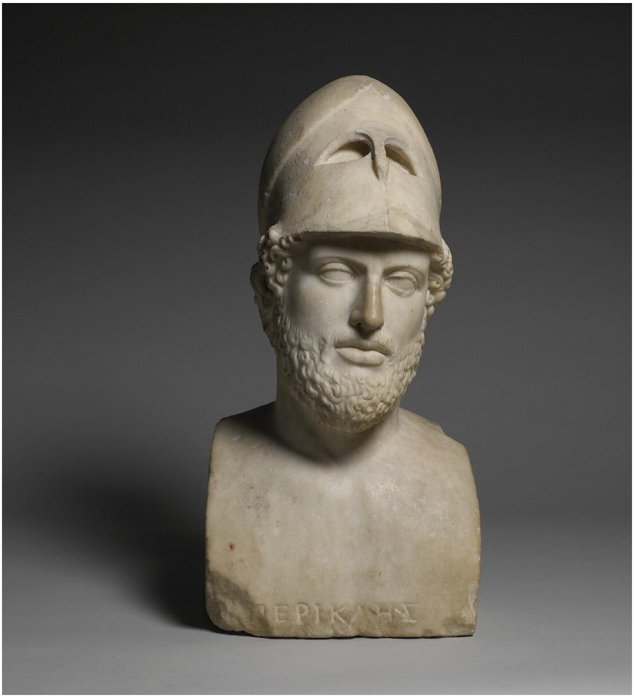


Figure 9.1 Cresilas(?). Portrait of Pericles, Marble hermaic copy of bronze original circa 430(?). London, British Museum 549. H. 1′ 7″ (0.48 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

Pliny is correct that the eternal glory of Pericles' age is owed, in part, to the achievements of others, but Cresilas was a minor player compared with artists and thinkers such as Sophocles, Phidias, and Protagoras, all close acquaintances of Athens' first citizen. Most responsible, however, for later perceptions of Pericles was his fellow statesman and general Thucydides. The historian belonged to a wealthy family with holdings in the northern Aegean, literally a gold mine. As one might expect, he was conservatively cautious about expanding democracy, but benefitted financially from Athens' imperialism. Having grown up in the Athens of Pericles, in his account of the great Peloponnesian War (431–404) he shows respect for a democratic system only if led by the most capable and well-intentioned statesman. Stung by his own exile for military failure, he felt that demagoguery and arrogant ambition, unchecked by the *sophrosyne* of Pericles, had led to Athens' ultimate demise. Yet Thucydides' account breaks off abruptly before this final chapter, probably owing to his death in the early fourth century. Unfinished also was Pericles' strategic program for ultimate victory in that war, falling victim, with Pericles himself in 429, to an unanticipated calamity – the plague in Athens. Pericles died therefore with his building program also unfinished, although it, and the war, proceeded hand in hand for nearly three decades.

Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* starts in 433/2, the year that work ceased on both the Parthenon and the Propylaea – centerpiece and front door, respectively, of the Acropolis building program. The temple, as far as we can tell, was completed, but the gateway was not. The narrative begins with a congress at Sparta intended to resolve disputes between Athens and Corinth over relations with Potidaea and Epidamnus, allies at opposite ends of the Greek world. The Corinthians propose war against Athens and her league; the Athenians respond; more exchanges of oratory follow. Thucydides characteristically uses speeches to convey the causes of events and the mindset of each protagonist. In them he aims to provide, as closely as possible, what actually was said but promises only to capture the essence. Each speech is a literary composition, often magnificent, that serves to develop the historian's own themes. Thucydides, like the statesmen and sculptors of his time, was a man of rhetorical training and persuasive artistry.

Thucydides then launches into the *Pentakontaetia*, his thumbnail history of the "fifty years" following Plataea – a much briefer etiology than that in Herodotus' early books. He traces the gradual emergence of the relationship that made war inevitable – Spartan fear of the growing power of Athens – and causes the reader to pause and consider how, in this relatively short period, the Greek world was utterly transformed politically, as it was also, as we have seen, in the development of art. The causes and context in both cases were burgeoning confidence, ambition, experimentation, and humanism. Thucydides follows with an account of the war's first year, which serves to illustrate Athens' strategy – a war of attrition that Pericles fully expected to win. At year's end, in his speech honoring fallen Athenian soldiers, Pericles explains his prospects for an Athenian victory made inevitable less by the superior resources of the League than by the superiority of the institutions and citizens of Athens itself. This was Pericles' finest hour and Thucydides' most famous passage.

Pericles' message is summarized in his description of Athens as the *paideia*, "education," of Greece. The Classical aspiration to form universal models is never far from hand. In every virtue, he demonstrates, the Athenians exceeded their fellow Greeks, who should therefore admire and emulate them rather than thwart their ambitions. It is proper that the Athenians stand at the head of an alliance of Greeks since the core of that alliance consists of descendants of the race of Ion, Athenian hero and son of Panionian Apollo. The Athenians alone are autochthonous, and it was only through their aid that other indigenous Greeks were saved from the invading, marauding Dorians, with whose descendants the Delian alliance is now at war. The progressive values and virtues of Athenian institutions and customs, which they share with their Ionian brothers, stand in especially sharp contrast with the regressive governments and practices of Sparta and other Dorian enemies.

Such was Athens' attitude in 431, and who could doubt that the policies and persuasiveness of Pericles, not to mention the manpower and money of the Delian League, would be more than sufficient to ensure a speedy victory? In the very next year, however, Apollo himself, averter and sender of plagues, betrayed his favored people and thereby changed the outlook for the war in two important ways. The plague rendered Pericles' policy of withdrawing behind walls untenable, since such crowding exacerbated its impact, and, even more devastating, it carried off Pericles himself in 429. In his final speech Pericles defends his policy, even in the face of plague, and tries to encourage his fellow citizens against the current and upcoming challenges. Thucydides makes clear his theme, sharpened by 30 years of hindsight: that Athens failed because of the loss of Pericles, and a democracy without firm and just leadership amounts to chaos. It is not this speech, however, that people remember, but the funeral oration of the previous year. It is commonplace to employ the themes of that speech to decode the imagery of the Parthenon, finished in the previous year, but it is more enlightening still to look ahead from the oration, as Pericles surely was, toward the oncoming war and the continuing building program, both of which became, with his death in 429, his own unfinished business.

Unfinished Business I – The Hephaesteum

We do not know when building in Athens resumed after the Parthenon accounts ceased in 432, but there was already much activity during the war's first decade-long stage, called "Archidamian" after the king who led the Spartan forces. This included the resumption of work on the Hephaesteum, of which only the peristyle had been finished during the initial construction period around mid-century. The sekos, ceiling, and roof belong to a second stage, which includes as well the Parian marble friezes above both porches. This part of the program can be dated to the 420s on style, and the superstructure must have been completed at least before the bronze statue group was installed between 421 and 415.

The subject of the frieze above the opisthodomos is clear enough: centaurs battle with armed male humans – Peirithous' wedding again, but, unlike the versions on the Parthenon and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, without any abducted or fleeing youths or girls (Figure 9.2). The pitched battle that took place after the initial outbreak of hostilities was chosen here – a military treatment that reflects the wartime status of Athens. Just left of the frieze's center is a pyramidal grouping with the Lapith Caeneus, who protects himself with his shield, being driven into the ground by a symmetrically rampant pair of centaurs. This mode of attack was necessitated by the hero's invulnerability to weapons. To the right of this group, near the frieze's center, a figure strides left to deliver a blow in relief of his comrade. Believed to represent Theseus, he takes the pose of the tyrannicide Harmodius.

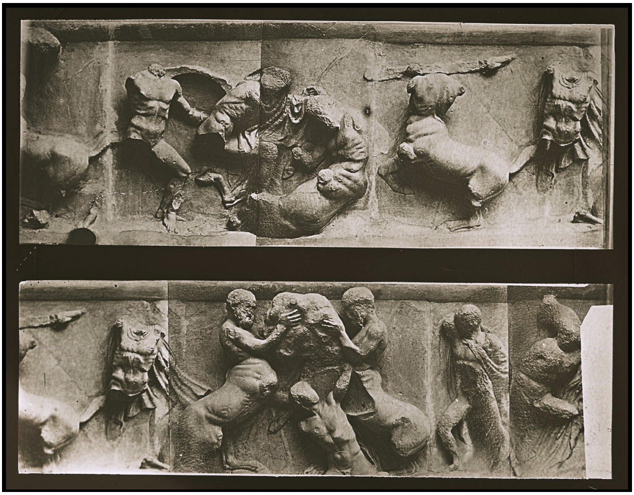


Figure 9.2 Hephaesteum, West Frieze. Marble. *In situ*. Circa 425. H. 2′ 9″ (0.85 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

A counterpart, in the pose of Aristogiton occupies the center of the east frieze, holding his draped left arm in defense, as does his prototype, but here striving to ward off a rock-wielding adversary (Figure 9.3). He likely held a sword in his right hand, since the other combats on the frieze take place between draped figures with weapons and naked adversaries armed only with stones. These are on sections between the antae and are flanked, on each side, by a group of three deities. None is absolutely identified, but at left are thought to be Athena, Hera, and Zeus and at right Hephaestus, Aphrodite, and Apollo. Prominence would thus be given to the temple's two occupants – Hephaestus and Athena, Zeus and Hera – king and queen of Olympians, Hephaestus' wife, who as Ourania had a nearby shrine, and Apollo, father of the Ionians, who as Patroos did so as well.

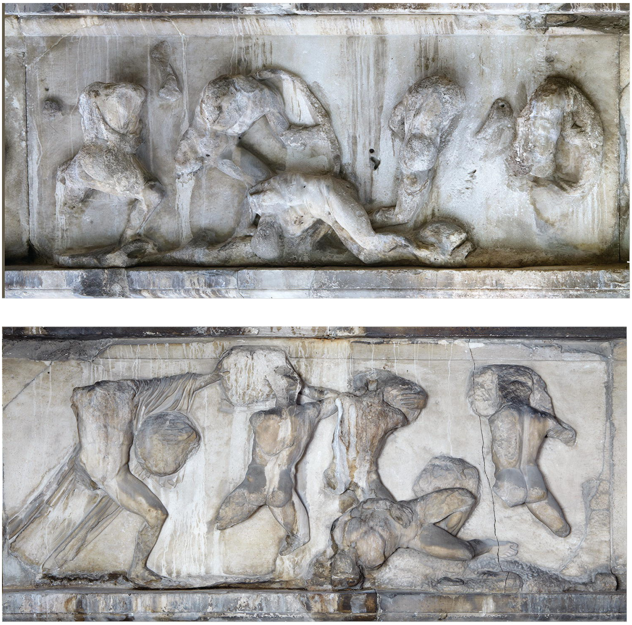


Figure 9.3 Hephaesteum, East Frieze. Marble. *In situ*. Circa 425. H. 2′ 9″ (0.85 m).

Source: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

A peculiarity of this frieze, and not the west, is its continuation on either side over the pteroma to join the inner face of the peristyle architrave. It works with the exterior metopes to emphasize space in front of the pronaos. The section extending to the right shows battle preparations; at left is the aftermath, with the binding of a captive. The primary action takes place in the space above the pronaos and between the two groups of gods, as on the Parthenon, although these face toward, rather than away from, the center. Also as in several Parthenon scenes there is a sense of progression in time. The subject is obscure. Rocks suggest giants, but the calmly seated and much larger Olympians show this to be no Gigantomachy. A conflict from the early ages of Athens seems likely. Theseus’ battle with the giant-like sons of Pallas for control of Attica is a frequent reading, but other suggestions include the war between Erechtheus and Eumolpus (referenced on the Parthenon frieze?) or an otherwise unknown episode featuring Hephaestus in the form of “Aristogiton.” A recent reading suggests the battle between Athens and Atlantis, preserved, like the story of Atlantis itself, only in the writings of Plato.

Stylistic comparison with the Parthenon is difficult because the two friezes have very different subjects and arrangements, consisting here of separate groupings of two to four figures, each with its own composition relying on an articulate outline traced against open space. With added color these friezes should have been easily legible from the Agora below. The drapery arrangements are not unlike those on the latest of the Parthenon sculptures, with modeling, clinging, and motion folds, although the scale of the frieze is much less, so the renderings are not as detailed. The battle scenes might better be compared with the Parthenon metopes, since they share similar subjects and compositions and are carved in comparably high relief. The centaurs here dwarf the Lapiths, as they do not on the Parthenon, and as they should if depicted at equine scale. Striking also is the experimentally three-dimensional and foreshortened treatment of certain figures on the Hephaesteum friezes: a centaur rolling on his back, for example, or slain opponent, or bound captive. One mannerism of battle reliefs from the later 420s – sections of drapery flying away from the body to fill the background and suggest vigorous motion – is absent from both friezes. A date somewhere during the Archidamian war, and earlier rather than later, would fit the style.

Complementing the friezes and metopes of the Hephaesteum were its acroteria and pedimental sculptures, also in Parian marble, and its colossal bronze cult statue group of Hephaestus and Athena Ergane. Pediments and acroteria are represented by scraps of marble sculpture found in the Agora excavations; there is much disagreement about which of these actually belong to this building (rather than the roughly contemporary Ares temple below it) and what they represent, so this part of the program is effectively unknown. Pediments were the most conspicuous elements of architectural sculpture and are usually at the core of its iconographic program, so it may be foolhardy to offer an interpretation here, yet what does remain can be related to the cult of the temple, its time, and its topography. The Hephaesteum and the Parthenon were laid out around the same time and were clearly related to one another. The latter functioned within the acropolis cult of Athena in her aspects of Parthenos, Promachos, and Polias, in other words, virgin Olympian, martial associate of her father Zeus, and bulwark of the Athenians (and all mankind) through her victory over the giants. She is closely associated with Hephaestus on the frieze, where they sit together, as on Phidias' Parthenos, where they are connected by both Pandora and Erechthonius – earth-born from the semen of Hephaestus, spilled in his lust for Athena, then reared by that goddess to be king of the Athenians. This very emblem of Athenian autochthony – Erechthonius' birth – was probably depicted on the cult statue base in the Hephaesteum.

Before its repurposing as a civic center, the Agora had been an area of manufacture; Pausanias still calls it the potters quarter, and remains of Archaic bronze foundries were found on Colonus Agoraeus itself. Production of and trade in pottery, sculpture, bronzework, and other crafts had long been at the core of the Athenian economy as a means to seek wealth beyond what the thin Attic soil could provide. It was as much at the heart of Athenian greatness as the skill of her rowers, or the *aretē* of her citizenry, and it was just as crucial to the success of Pericles' policies. The Hephaesteum friezes and metopes must be read against this background. The latter draw on a tradition of the early democracy visualized on the Delphic treasury by presenting models of heroic behavior that interweave concepts of Panhellenism and Atticism. Theseus is foregrounded further here by his presence, and likely prominence, in the Centauromachy frieze, spelling out the need for restraint (*sophrosyne*) that was central to Pericles' plans.

Identification of the central figure on the east frieze also as Theseus is therefore attractive. The scene should show some episode from Athens' legendary era of kings, reprising the concept of Athenian autochthony, the importance of which is continually encountered in and beyond this war. The approving gods are seated on rocks, rooted to the Athenian ground through their adjacent cults, and, in their arrangement, form an unmistakable allusion to the Parthenon frieze. Earthy imagery is overwhelming, in the naturalistic groundlines, given depth and texture by the prone, foreshortened corpses and in the stones torn from the earth by semi-civilized adversaries to use as weapons against the Athenians and their allies. The latter, moreover, oppose them with bronze armaments, signifying a contrast between sequential cultures and locating civilizing force in *techne* itself, in the form of Hephaestus and Athena Ergane. A recent study emphasizes the temple's location, looming behind buildings devoted to the routine administration of democracy; it promotes Theseus as a model Athenian for the **ephebes** who were enrolled in view of these very sculptures. If the acropolis buildings high above embody the celestial aspects of Athenian cult and its most ancient origins, the Hephaesteum extends those same concepts into the daily civic and economic lives of the Athenian demos – a Periclean *Realpolitik*.

Unfinished Business II – The Sanctuary of Athena Nike

In the third quarter of the fifth century the Athenian assembly authorized appointment of and payment to a priestess of Athena Nike and the building of a temple, altar, and temenos door under the direction of Callicrates, sometimes mentioned as collaborator with Ictinus on the Parthenon. The cult was an old one, located just south of the Acropolis west entrance on a projecting bastion that itself, with its visible Mycenaean masonry, was a relic of heroic Athens (Figure 9.4). Substantial Archaic remains testify to a long pre-Persian war presence; torn down during the sack of the Acropolis, the sanctuary remained a ruin until Pericles decided to rebuild all the temples on the rock. The commonly cited date of 449 is guesswork, based mostly on a single letterform believed to have gone out of use around 445 (see box). The oddity is that the temple that was ultimately erected cannot date before the Archidamian War. It is referenced in a second inscription, cut on the reverse side of the first, which establishes a schedule for paying the priestess; its firm date, 424/3, must be close to the time of the temple's completion. Why the gap between the commissioning and completion of this small project? Was there an earlier, unfinished, stage of building that was torn down and replaced just 20 years later? There are traces of structures that could be assigned such a date, but not all agree that they should. If so, was Callicrates architect of only the first project and not the second? Finally, not all epigraphers agree on the dating by letterforms, so the gap may itself be a modern fantasy, and the two inscriptions much closer in date.

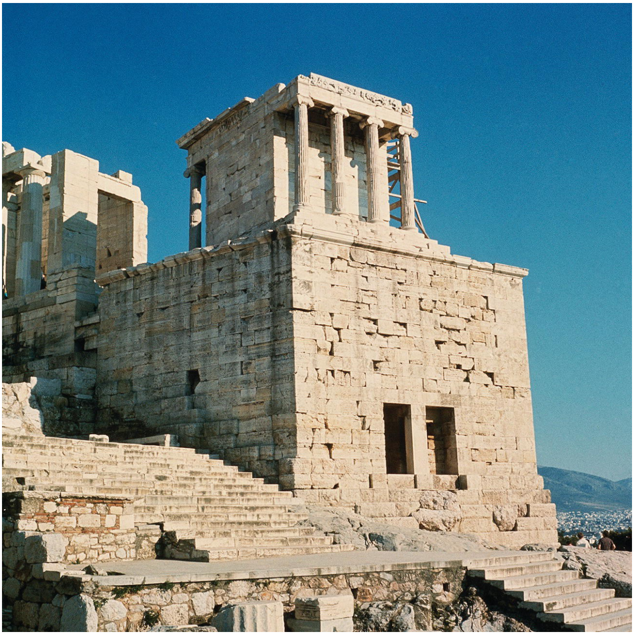


Figure 9.4 Athens, Acropolis. View, from west, of Temple to Athena Nike. Circa 425–423.

Source: © Corbis.

While the building was likely part of a plan conceived in the early 440s, in its present form it was designed and executed during the first decade of the Peloponnesian War. The entire complex was highly symbolic. The bastion core was part of the original fortification of the Mycenaean acropolis; as at Mycenae and Tiryns, it exposed to the defenders of the citadel the attackers' vulnerable right, spear-wielding flank. This projection was now sheathed in the same form of finished ashlar masonry that one expects in monumental architecture, as though the temple were placed on a giant version of the high pilaster often used to proffer up a votive monument for the deity's delectation. The outstretched Nike-bearing bastion has also been compared to the Nike-bearing arm of the Parthenos, and the holes cut in its masonry may once have held shields captured from enemies in the war, set up as further votives to Athena, in her role as the bringer of victory.

“Nike” can of course refer to success in either athletics or warfare, which were, in ancient Greece, two sides of the same coin, but in this context the latter realm of accomplishment took priority. Though modest in scale, the sanctuary was rich in iconography, which was signified not only through myth and allegory, as had long been done, but now by means of history as well. This program encompassed both the temple itself and the sculptured parapet installed at the edges of the temenos. The program should be taken as a single entity, even if some carving may have continued after all the structures were in place.

Box The Evidence of Inscriptions

Literary sources useful for study of ancient Greek sculpture mostly suffer from one basic limitation – they were composed many centuries after the objects and artists discussed. Not so for inscriptions, since most that accompany or concern a work of sculpture are contemporaneous with its production and employment. Some inscriptions provide information about the creation and use of works and others elucidate the circumstance of sculptural commission, display, and reception.

The former category includes signatures, dedications, and funerary epigrams. The two earliest signatures considered here, those of the Mantiklos Apollo and the Nicandre from the seventh century, provide the identity of the dedicator and dedicatee, but, as is typical, no information about the subject of the statue. The former was also unusually explicit about the transactional nature of the votive process, and the latter gave insight into the social definition of the female dedicator in terms of her male relatives, including the name of her father (**patronymic**). From the end of this century is the first sculptor’s signature, the Euthycartides’ base from Delos; here, as often, the inscription includes the sculptor’s **ethnic** (*ho Naxios*; the Naxian). From these much can be inferred about the mobility of sculptors and the existence of regional schools.

Longer epigrammatic inscriptions can provide clues, if not answers, to questions of meaning and function. Two early examples are found on the bases of the Merenda Kore and the Anavysos Kouros. Each provides the name of the deceased (Phrasikleia and Croesus, respectively); the former names the sculptor as well. Each has been interpreted as exemplifying a customary motivation for this sort of commemoration. Since the gods decreed that Phrasikleia "shall ever be called kore in place of marriage," it has been argued that only women who died unwed were honored with korai. Similarly, since Croesus fell "fighting in the first rank," one could infer that only war heroes were given kouroi. Yet in neither case is this certainly true. In the Classical period most funerary inscriptions simply name the deceased, and for votives there are mostly bases without statues. These can, however, provide sculptors' patronymics and ethnics, the type and location of their commissions, partners, patrons, and the dates of their activity. This data not only complements, but also can be a corrective for, the literary sources, which not infrequently get it wrong.

From the fifth century there exist several datable building accounts, especially in Athens, where the allocation of public resources was committed to stone. Partial records for the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, and the Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus have come down to us. These decrees may be problematic as well as useful, as shown by the Nike temple inscription (discussed in this chapter), which scholars struggle to reconcile with the material evidence for chronology.

Finally, many historical inscriptions document events, conditions, and traditions behind the production and display of sculpture. The Parian Marble, for example, an inscribed historical chronology, includes the dedication date of the Tyrannicide group. Athenian tribute lists reveal a sharp increase in the allies' contributions of 425, which is now connected to the building of the Nike Temple. Temple inventories of the Parthenon reveal that statuary was among the gifts given to Athena, but it was a small proportion of what was considered “pleasing” to her, outweighed especially by metal vessels and other functional objects. Perhaps the most useful of all such texts was inscribed on a column at Hellenistic Messene honoring her native son Damophon with a detailed accounting of his major sculptural commissions, some of which still exist today. Would that every polis had been so proud of its artists!

The Nike temple is the earliest entirely Ionic building on the Acropolis, the flexibility of that order allowing it to be skillfully adapted to the exigencies of available space. Small in scale, it has two prostyle porches with four columns each, but it lacks a true pronaos or opisthodomos, and its lowest step at back actually cuts into the parapet behind. What it lacks in size it makes up for in ornamentation. Beyond the decorative features inherent to the order, it had bronze acroteria, marble pedimental sculptures, and a continuous carved frieze course on its “Attic” Ionic entablature. The gilt bronze acroteria include Nike figures at the corners, and the central acroteria, long thought to have depicted Bellerophon, have been persuasively identified now as Nikai also, perhaps flanking a tripod. These lofty victory symbols recall those on the Temple of Zeus, cast by the sculptor Paeonius (on whom see below) at just this time. The one group surely references the other, and both perhaps the Parthenon, now also believed to have had Nike acroteria. The pedimental sculptures, very fragmentarily preserved, are thought to have represented a Gigantomachy and an Amazonomachy. If correct, the pediments can be included among the temple’s many references to the Parthenon, extracting from its program those most obvious symbols of conflict between order and disorder, and between self and other, chosen also for the Parthenos’ similarly apotropaic shield.

It is the friezes, however, that are most substantially preserved. As on the Parthenon and the Hephaesteum, the east frieze shows a gathering of deities, but in this case not as spectators (Figure 9.5). The figures are not easy to identify. As elsewhere, Athena (perhaps with Nike) and Zeus dominate the center, the former, with shield, standing before the latter, enthroned. To the viewer’s left Poseidon (by most accounts) sits on a rock. The standing peplophoroi to either side would be the consorts Amphitrite and Hera. At far left, if the small winged figure is Eros, then the female with one foot on a rock is Aphrodite, and the figure to the left Peitho (persuasion again). All three were worshipped in the sanctuary to Aphrodite Pandemos directly below these images on the south slope, which has led some to seek topographical allusions across the frieze. The rest of the figures are variously identified, but the figure leaning on a stick near the center might be Hephaestus. The subject is not clear. Many specific identifications have been suggested, ranging from a judgment of souls, as on the Siphnian Treasury, to the birth of Athena, as on the Parthenon. Given the close relationship to that temple, the grouping of Athena, Zeus, Hera, and Hephaestus is likely to serve as a reference to it, just as the grouping of Athena, Zeus, and Poseidon should reference its west pediment and, at the same time, the cult areas to its northeast.

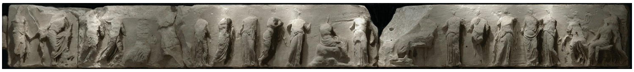


Figure 9.5 Athens, Acropolis. Temple to Athena Nike, East Frieze. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Marble. Circa 425–423. H. 1′ 5.5″ (0.4 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

There must also be a relationship with the battles being waged on the other three sides, the subjects of most of which are equally problematic. Victory, of course, is depicted on all three, so the connection was perhaps as vague as divine sanction, again as on the Parthenon frieze. There the gods were the recipients of cult activity and *agalmata* as signs of Athenian piety; here they bestow in reciprocity the beneficence (*charis*) of that relationship – Athenian victory in war; the Charites themselves, whose sanctuary was in the adjacent Propylaea, are likely present on the left half of this frieze. Here again, the value of struggle (*eris*) and an ordered resolution (*kosmos*) was a core belief for the ancient Greeks; more specifically here, the contest (*agon*) resolves, for the pious and virtuous (as Pericles clearly conceives the Athenians) in victory (*nike*).

But which victories? The use of battle scenes, and the presence of sanctioning Olympians, is shared with the only slightly earlier Hephaesteum East Frieze, and for the most part the identifications are equally difficult. The primary clue occurs on the South Frieze, where one set of adversaries is dressed in oriental garb, leading most to see them as Persians (Figure 9.6). Given its importance to the Athenians, identification as Marathon is all but assured, but any historical battle marks a momentous break with convention. While the Parthenon frieze may or may not be mythological, its subject is patently religious. Commemorative paintings employing history as well as mythological allegory were set up already in the time of Cimon, who also included an historical portrait, of his own father, in the Phidian Marathon monument at Delphi. Yet, the use of an historical event for the sculptural embellishment of a temple is unprecedented, and the practice seems not to recur in the Classical period.

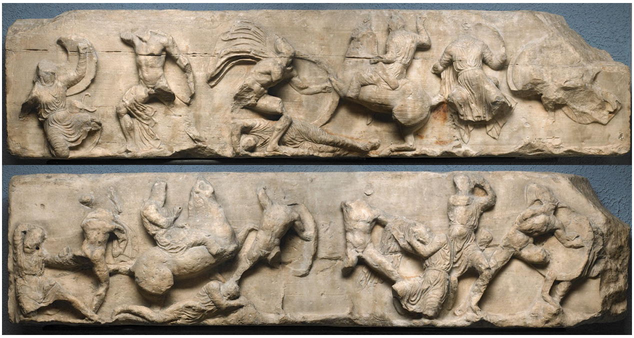


Figure 9.6 Athens, Acropolis. Temple to Athena Nike, South Frieze. Athens, Acropolis Museum. London, British Museum. Marble. Circa 425–423. H. 1′ 5.5″ (0.4 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

A fuller understanding of how this came to be would be aided by an identification of the other two battles depicted; how was Marathon contextualized? Was it an historical battle presented in the context of earlier, legendary conflicts and thereby consecrated as heroic itself? Or are the other friezes also historical battles, including more recent, or even contemporary, events? The tradition of commemoration through mythological allusion had been broken, but just how far were the Athenians willing to stray? The North Frieze, least well preserved, is thought from its armaments to show a heroic scene. Even though only one slab can easily be read, the peculiarly specific characterization of its conflict has led to an ingenious and convincing interpretation as the legendary battle won by the Athenians over Eurystheus, who invaded Attica in pursuit of the sons of Heracles. A divinely sanctioned Attic victory over an invading Peloponnesian force has an obvious connection with current circumstances, and the Attic defense of Heracles' progeny underscores the now persistent policy of assimilation of Attic Theseus (who, or whose sons, led the Athenians at the time of the victory) to Panhellenic Heracles. So it is likely that this frieze situates the Marathon scene opposite it within a heroic tradition. Moreover, this defense of the Heracleids occurs in the catalogue of their past victories invoked by Athenians at Plataea and preserved for us by Herodotus (cf. Chapter 7).

The next episode in this list is the recovery of the bodies of the seven from Thebes, which may recur on the West Frieze here, which preserves at least two scenes of fallen warriors being taken from a battlefield. Other suggestions include a different heroic scene (e.g. Theseus' battle with the Pallantids) or a battle between Greeks in what we would consider historical times (e.g. the enigmatic Battle of Oinoe, painted, like Marathon, in the Theseum). Whether the Herodotean tradition was the source here (different versions of this list become a topos of later oratory), the basic concept of past victories as models for prospective success is clearly at play on this temple. Its application to temple sculpture, with the explicit inclusion of an historical episode, remains unique. Any deviation from apparent convention could be explained by the special significance of Marathon within Athenian self-representation, the waxing boldness of the Athenians, the enormity and immediacy of the effects of the war in which they were engaged, or the especially practical and worldly concerns implicit in the cult in question. Perhaps the issue simply lies in a distinction between myth and history that is much sharper in modern than in ancient minds.

The style of the frieze is equally remarkable. The carving is high, and, where sufficiently preserved, of consummate quality. Added paint and weapons in gleaming metal would have created a dazzling effect. There are similarities to the Hephaesteum frieze, which is nearly twice as tall, in the boldly modeled figures, eloquent outlines, and background sufficiently spacious to enhance legibility. Many of these also quote familiar types such as the Tyrannicides, or combatants from the Amazonomachy of the Parthenos shield. However, the compositions here are more complex and the three-dimensional illusionism more marked. The drapery is intricate and sharply carved, and a new trait is the cloak blowing sharply back from the body, both filling compositional spaces and suggesting rapid forward motion. This feature will be developed further in the evolving drapery styles of the late fifth and early fourth centuries, as is adumbrated in the flamboyant styles of the parapet reliefs.

This parapet is, in its own way, as innovative and experimental as the historical friezes of the temple. Although long placed, by style, in the last decades of the century, technical features show it to be contemporary with the temenos pavement and thus carved not much after the temple friezes themselves. There are similarities between the two, but these can be masked by the differences in scale (the parapet is nearly three times taller), subject matter, and composition. The latter derives patently from the Parthenon frieze in consisting of parallel processions along the north and south flanks of the temenos, and in their culmination at the center of the frieze's primary (west) face. The lateral processions do not, as on the Parthenon frieze, continue onto the adjoining flank. Each ends with its own divine presence, Athena seated on a rocky outcropping, surely signifying the Acropolis, and the land of Athens itself; the goddess thus occurs three times on the parapet frieze (Figure 9.7). Moreover, the processors are not mortals or heroes but 50 or so images of the same personification – Nike, each honoring, in one way or another, the three manifestations of Athena Nike. This repetition – an important rhetorical device – is striking; it would appear that, in this time and place, one could not have too much Athena, or too much victory; neither history nor mythology, this is pure allegory.

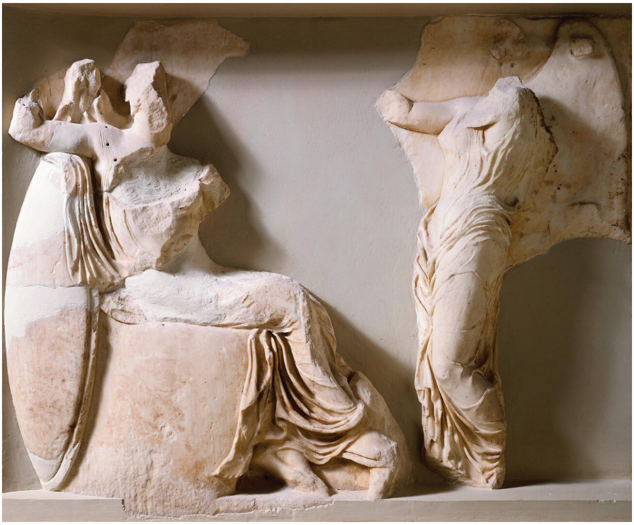


Figure 9.7 Athens, Acropolis. Sanctuary of Athena Nike, parapet. Nike and Athena. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Marble. Circa 420. H. 3′ 6″ (1.06 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah.

The force of repetition is effective, but the variety in the figures is equally engaging, so that the mental participation of the viewer is demanded more emphatically here than, for example, on the Parthenon frieze. On the short east section along a brief flight of steps into the temenos, a Nike takes a step, mimicking the action of the observer entering the sanctuary. The famous figure of Nike unfastening her sandal illustrates proper sanctuary decorum to the observant pilgrim (Figure 9.8). Other figures move actively forward while some, having arrived at the end, stand, or even alight, in the presence of the seated goddess. Still others affix weapons to trophies like those set up on the battlefield by a victorious army. Other Nikai are holding arms, or offering them to Athena. Sacrifice is depicted on the west and suggested on the north by Nikai with a bull. The presence of bulls is surprising, since a cow was the standard sacrifice to Athena Nike, chosen for its beauty from the hundred constituting the Panathenaic offering. Some have seen here a sacrifice intended for Zeus Polieus, also on the Acropolis, or a chthonic offering to a hero (Theseus?), marking the beginning of battle just as the trophies mark its successful conclusion. Again like the Parthenon frieze, the Nike Balustrade comprises a series of signs referencing a carefully selected array of customs and concepts; it does not (here even more obviously than on the Parthenon) depict an actual event.

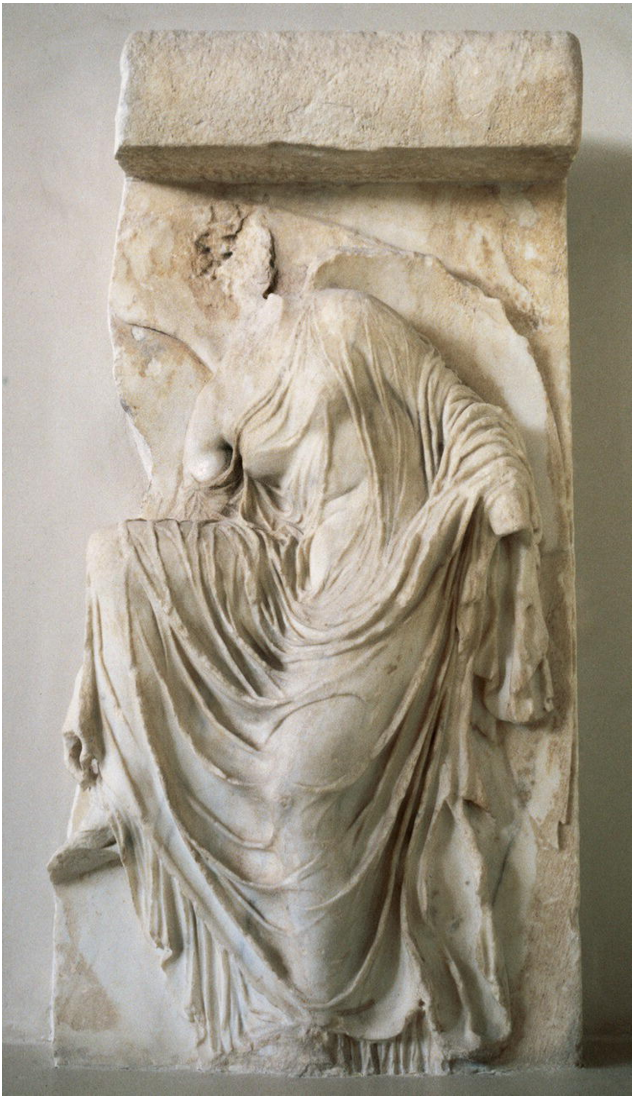


Figure 9.8 Athens, Acropolis. Sanctuary of Athena Nike, parapet. Sandalbinder. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Marble. Circa 420. H. 3′ 6″ (1.06 m).

Source: © Prisma Archivo/Alamy.

The Nike and bull scene captures vividly the movement, stasis, and tension that permeate the procession (Figure 9.9). The Nike at right glides forward parallel to the background plane, her pose a more delicate version of the early Classical stride of the Tyrannicides or Artemision god. She leads a bull (tiny if the Nikai are human scale), which rears to suggest both his powerful forward motion and Nike's restraining efforts. She bends to her task, with both legs braced against the struggling victim; the left is bent and raised to use a rocky outcropping for leverage. The misnamed Sandalbinder lacks this tension, as she pauses in progress to attend to the necessary adjustment. All three figures are, despite the implied lateral movement, essentially frontal and applied against an impermeable surface; there is none of the foreshortening or special illusionism seen in the battle friezes. In this, as in their poses, they seem designed primarily to serve as models for the display of a virtuoso drapery carving that, in the end, steals the show. The basic elements – motion drapery, windblown drapery, modeling drapery, clinging "wet" revealing drapery – are familiar enough from the Parthenon pediments, but here the increased depth of carving and intricacy of linear patterning carry these forms beyond their logical origins, resulting in a mannerist effect that transcends the rational. On the Sandalbinder, for example, the contrast between broad swaths of clinging drapery and the deeply carved lines of hanging and modeling drapery is impossibly exaggerated. The folds here, traceable continuously from point of origin to point of termination, are pure design, corresponding to no rationally conceivable reality. Similar are the sinuous tubular folds hanging down from the left arm of the bull-leading Nike, suggesting a massiveness of material incompatible with its diaphanous treatment over the left leg. This effect is reinforced by an array of small illogical mannerisms such as the little "leech" folds at the left ankle, which references both a puff of wind and the winged footwear of messenger gods, appropriate to her rapid forward motion.

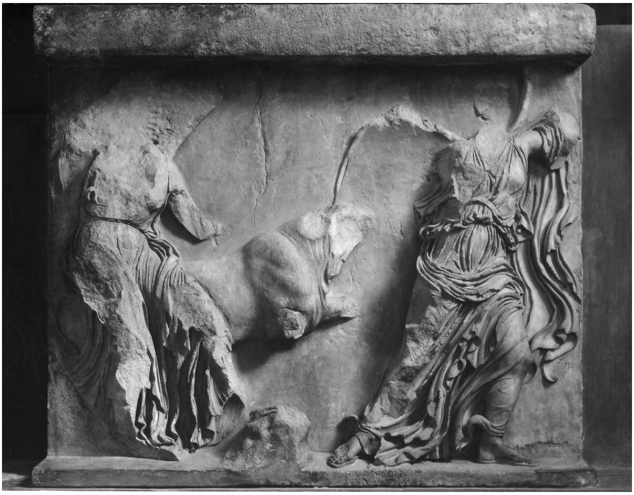


Figure 9.9 Athens, Acropolis. Sanctuary of Athena Nike, parapet. Nikai with Bull. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Marble. Circa 420. H. 3′ 6″ (1.06 m).

Source: Athens, Acropolis Museum.

The parapet, with its visually engaging composition and contra-logical style, has been compared to those rhetorical displays, increasingly popular at the time, that sought to prove the truth of the patently false, and which ultimately brought down on "sophistry" its Platonic disapproval. Repetition and variety, as seen in the frieze, were established and respected compositional devices used in Classical oratory; the mannered and deceptive drapery treatments delight like verbal flourishes. When the parapet was dated late in the century, it was thought, like rhetoric, to represent an escape from reality in trying times of war, plague, and diminishing prospects. With an earlier date established, precisely the opposite can be argued; temple and parapet were built together following the great Athenian victory in 425 over the Spartan regulars at Sphacteria, whose captured shields adorned the bastion – the bold sophistry mirroring the notorious demagoguery of the new Athenian leader Cleon. In either case, the Peloponnesian War would prove a watershed for the fortunes of Athens, as did the changes in sculptural style during the decade following the Parthenon, which pushed the idealized and artificial rationalism of Phidias and Polyclitus beyond all reason and prompted an artistic reaction that would utterly transform Greek art in the fourth century.

Sculptors of Victory and Defeat

The Nike parapet is a *tour de force*, and it is no surprise that some of the most famous sculptors of the time have been speculatively associated with the various hands detected in its carving. Two of them, as it happens, authored extant marble statues, although one is much better preserved than the other. The Nike of Olympia, largely preserved aside from its face, was set up as a battle memorial not by Athens herself, but by her allies (Figure 9.10). This we know from Pausanias (5.26.1), who derives his information from both an inscription (preserved) and word of mouth. The inscription reads "The Messenians and Naupactians set (this) up to Olympian Zeus as a tithe from the spoils taken from the enemy. Paeonius of Mende made it, and he also won the commission to make the acroteria for the temple." During the first Peloponnesian War (circa 455), the Athenians seized Naupactus on the north coast of the Corinthian gulf and populated it with Messenian refugees. The latter retained their hereditary enmity for Sparta and both were allies of the Athenians. Pausanias reports (although wrongly doubts) that the battle in question was the one fought on the island of Sphacteria in 425. This was the most spectacular victory by Athenian forces during the Archidamian War; it ended the annual Spartan invasions and ultimately resulted in the Peace of Nicias. This was a magnificent memorial, in which the Athenians had surely more than a small share; that it was dedicated not by Athens herself but by her allies alludes, through reference to the Messenians, to Sparta's traditional arrogant, aggressive, and impious behavior toward her western neighbor. So, not only is this statue well preserved, but we are certain of its artist, its date, and the context of its dedication, making it one of most fully documented works of sculpture from all of Classical Greece. Yet, neither the statue nor the sculptor is mentioned anywhere other than in Pausanias' passage and this one inscription. The quality of the work, however, and his commission for the acroteria, would suggest the status of a master, so frequency of mention in literary sources may not be a criterion for identifying the artistic elite.

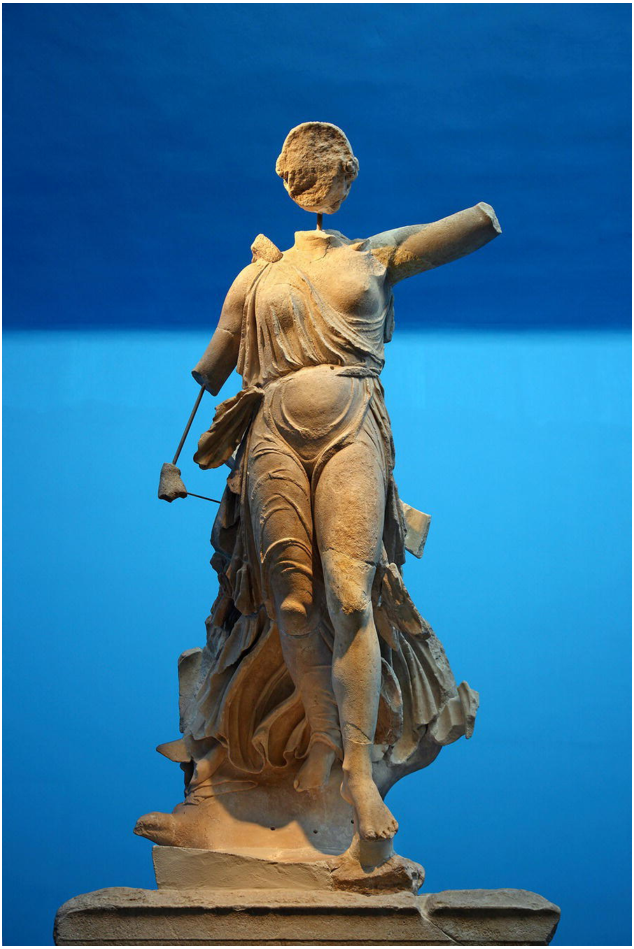


Figure 9.10 Paeonius. Nike of Olympia. Olympia Archaeological Museum 46–48. Marble. Circa 425–420. H. 6′ 5″ (1.95 m).

Source: © Hercules Milas/Alamy.

The statue, well over six feet tall, is shown alighting on a pilaster over 30 feet high, so it was seen from below, not unlike an acroterion (Figure 9.10). Those on the Nike temple may have been similar in style, as are some of the parapet figures, such as the Nike leading a bull. The figures share patterns of long, sweeping sinuous folds that flow away from the body to describe its motion, illustrate the effect of wind blowing on the material, and create an undulating visual backdrop. On both, these folds take a particular tubular form that sometimes bends with the nicks characteristic of metal tubing. The boldly carved, chiaroscural shapes create a strong and improbable contrast with the diaphanous drapery pulled taut across the body. On the Olympia Nike, in fact, the illusion is pushed even further in the differing treatments of the two legs. The left is covered, the right emerges undraped; the pattern of modeling folds over the former make its three-dimensional form more perceptible than that of the latter. The juxtaposition functions as a lesson in the effectiveness of rational drapery pattern; if deliberate, it reflects the increasing artisanal self-consciousness of the time.

Despite the similar drapery mannerisms, the two figures, statue and relief, operate quite differently in space. As an essentially two-dimensional form, the parapet Nike revives the eloquent outline of early Classical figures such as the Artemision god. Paeonius’ Nike is pure statuary and as such, recalls the lessons of the Canon. She has not quite alighted on the pilaster; although her left leg stretches to touch its surface, she is still weightless. Nonetheless, a chiastic pattern is applied throughout her body; lines drawn through her ankles, knees, hips, and shoulders correlate to the scheme of contrapposto. Polyclitus’ design, invented to reflect the body reacting to its own weight, has become here a means for expressing the structure of even a weightless body, with drapery here taking on the descriptive role of anatomical divisions. Already at this time, as increasingly in the succeeding century, sculptors not only follow the models of their predecessors, but rethink them and adapt them to new subjects and circumstances.

About a second sculptor associated by some with the parapet, Agoracritus of Paros, we know both more and less. Although his preserved work is far more fragmentary, the sources have much to say about this man and his work, probably because of his close relationship with Phidias. Agoracritus was so beloved by his teacher, Pliny says, that Phidias allowed some of his own works to bear the signature of the younger sculptor (*NH* 36.17). This is unparalleled and unlikely, but it may explain the attribution to Phidias by other sources of two works explicitly stated by Pliny to have been Agoracritus’. Of these, there exists evidence only for the colossal marble cult statue of Nemesis set up in a temple at

Rhamnous, dated to the 420s. It replaced an Archaic temple no doubt destroyed by the Persians, so in a sense it was part of the broader Periclean program, and, appropriately, it was never finished.

Both statue and sculptured base were battered into small pieces, another possible victim of Christian fervor in late antiquity. The base reliefs can be substantially reconstructed from extant pieces and a Roman copy now in Stockholm (Figure 9.11). The statue is less thoroughly preserved, yet more than sufficiently so to verify the identification of a Roman replica series as designed after this statue (Figure 9.12). The figure was draped in a thin sleeved chiton belted just beneath an overfold; over this a mantle is draped from the left shoulder down around the right hip, across the back, and forward over the shoulder again. The stylistic connections with the Parthenon sculptures are clear enough. The fold patterns are sharply cut and detailed; the original fragments reveal a linear precision that combines incised patterns with projecting plastic folds. The surfaces and drapery edges have an almost metallic quality; a bronze prototype might be assumed if we did not know otherwise. Most of the drapery either clings to the body, revealing it, or curves around projecting forms with a modeling function; this is especially evident at the shoulder, breast, abdomen, and free leg. The figure stands with its weight on the left leg; the right is set sharply to the side, but not retracted – a pose more Phidian than Polyclitan. The flamboyant drapery folds used on the Nike parapet figures to emphasize motion and wind are not appropriate here, but there are very deeply carved, long and continuous folds that outline the right leg and describe the lines of weight shift. The nature of the figure differs from, but the style recalls and is contemporary with, that of the parapet, so Agoracritus’ hand has been sought and detected in those reliefs. His association with Phidias suggests that he trained on the Parthenon, and some see his style in the three goddesses (K, L, M) from the East Pediment.

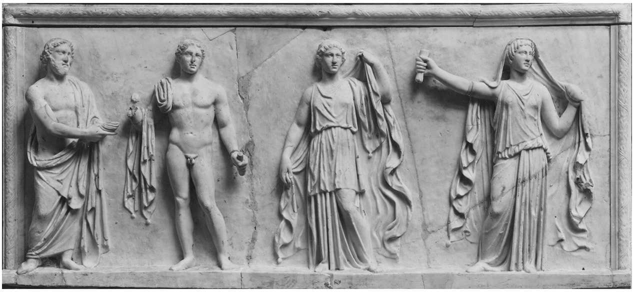


Figure 9.11 Neo-Attic relief copying figures from base of Nemesis of Rhamnous. Stockholm Museum 150. Marble. H. 1′ 8″ (0.51 m).

Source: Stockholm Museum.

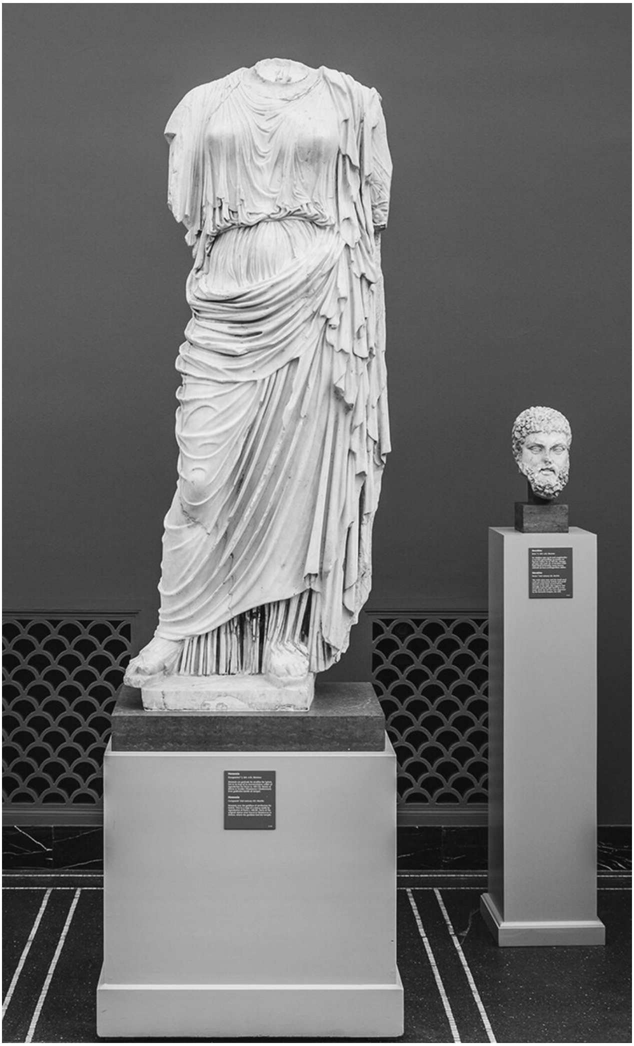


Figure 9.12 Agoracritus. Nemesis of Rhamnous. Marble copy of marble original circa 425, partially preserved. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 304a. H. 6′ 1″ (1.85 m). [Original said to be ten cubits = 15′ (4.6 m)].

Source: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, photograph by Ole Haupt.

This temple and its sculptures related to the Parthenon thematically as well. According to Pliny, the artist lost a contest with his fellow pupil, the Athenian Alcamenes, for the commission of an Aphrodite. Blaming his defeat on Athenian parochialism, Agoracritus angrily sold the statue on the conditions that it stand outside Athens and that it depict Nemesis – personification of divine punishment justly meted out. Pausanias, on the other hand, says the statue was carved from a block of marble brought by the Persians to fashion a trophy; it was left behind after their defeat (1.33.2–8). Both stories are suspect, but each emerges from the connection between the statue and the theme of deserved retribution. The temple and the statue can therefore be seen as referring to the Persian wars generally and nearby Marathon specifically, making the program a logical extension of the themes of the Parthenon and related structures. Yet, in Athens these themes were couched in contemporary terms, with a topicality and historic specificity that is most patent in the Nike complex, itself contemporary with Rhamnous.

Agoracritus' Nemesis can clearly be woven into the nexus between Athena Nike and the Parthenon. Pausanias tells us that her crown included Nike figures and that she was wingless, unlike later representations of the same personification; he twice refers to Athena Nike as wingless (*Apteros*) Nike. Cult statues would, hopefully, not fly away. He also describes the statue base, which portrayed the presentation of Helen by Leda, her foster mother and Queen of Sparta, to Nemesis, her true mother, in the presence of Menelaus (Helen's husband), his brother Agamemnon, and members of the united Spartan and Mycenaean royal families. From the relief and the remains it can be determined that the figures, each about half life size, were arranged on three sides of the base; separately carved and attached, they are widely spaced and stand in a frontal, statuesque fashion, like the gilt bronze figures on the Parthenos base. Helen here, like Pandora there, is a highly ambivalent gift from the gods to mankind. Most beautiful of women, and thus a source of pleasure, she also brought incalculable death, destruction, and misery. Both are reminders of the horrible inevitability of divine judgment; both also involve themes of hubristic transgression and justified punishment (and more than a little gynophobia). The applicability to the impiety of the Persians is apt, to be sure, but the protagonists here are also Peloponnesians, some specifically Spartans. The ills they suffer derive ultimately from the curse of Pelops, whose very name suggests the enemies of Athens.

On this temple in the Attic countryside, annual victim of Peloponnesian incursions just as the sanctuary too had been defiled by invading Persians, the reference to the hereditary crimes of the Homeric Achaeans of the Peloponnese could not have been accidental or overlooked. As set forth in Pericles' funeral oration, the Athenians will inevitably win because they are inherently superior, both cause and result of the divine favor they enjoy. In Periclean Athens, *nemesis* could fall only on her ill-fated foes. After his death, this confidence was retained, sustained, reinforced by the victory at Sphacteria, and given physical form in the Athena Nike complex. What few, if any, Athenians could see at that time were the acts of *hubris* that would incur their own fatal and final forms of *nemesis*, although these were already on the horizon.

10

An Attic Tragedy: The Fall of Athens and the Transition to Late Classical (circa 420–390)

If rhetoric is the apt literary metaphor for the art and culture of Periclean Athens, this distinction soon shifts to tragedy. The Athena Nike complex advertises the inevitability of an Athenian victory that was to bring down divine retribution on the Peloponnesian enemy – a sentiment seconded by Agoracritus' Nemesis and prompting, perhaps, the story of the Persian trophy preserved by Pliny. The triumph over these Persians had served the Athenians well as a model for the conflict at hand, evident in Pericles' framing of the Spartans as the new "other." Herodotus, who witnessed the early stages of the Peloponnesian war, construes that Persian conflict in terms of the tragic trilogy of *hubris* (excessive pride), *ate* (consequent irrational behavior), and *nemesis*. What the Athenians could not yet see was that it would be *their* outrageous ambition and recklessness that would bring their own empire to a tragic end. Their Oedipal blindness (Sophocles' play dates to the first years of the war) recalls Herodotus' story of Lydian Croesus, who, like the ill-fated Theban king, fatally misinterpreted the Delphic oracle.

Thucydides' history shares its dramatic structure with the tragedies of his time, nowhere more obviously than in his account of the decisive naval battle of 413 in the harbor at Syracuse. Ringed by a high ridge, the harbor takes on the form of a theater's cavea, and the two armies on the shore are given the role of audience, alternately despairing and exalting as their comrades enjoy victory or suffer defeat. Yet, like the audience of an Attic tragedy, the reader knows the final outcome. The great fleet of Athens is destroyed, their army soon captured as well. Thucydides' history breaks off before the pathetic final scene of the tragedy plays out in 405, when an undefended Athenian fleet beached at Aegospotami was taken by the Spartans, whose overlordship the Athenians had then to suffer, at least for a while. The historian was well aware of the denouement, however, and with his own axe to grind he attributes Athens' defeat to radical demagogues' rash decision to attack Sicily – an act of *ate* rooted in Athenian *hubris*.

Immediately preceding his account of this ill-omened exploit, Thucydides presents the most patently dramatic episode in his entire history. The Dorians of Cycladic Melos had never joined the Delian League and remained neutral in the Peloponnesian War. In 416 Athens decided to force an alliance, the Melians resisted, and the Athenians laid siege. Although the islanders held out and enjoyed some success, they were ultimately forced to surrender. Thucydides reports that the Athenians killed all the adult male citizens, sold the rest into slavery, and colonized the island for themselves; that there were actually survivors is known from other sources, so Thucydides may have indulged in dramatic hyperbole. What is more dramatic still is his use of dialogue for the bulk of his account. The Melians protest their neutrality and innocence, invoking justice and natural law. The Athenians counter with the bald-faced assertion that might makes right. This is the *hubris* that precedes the *ate* of the Sicilian expedition and the *nemesis* suffered in the great basin at Syracuse and on the shores of the Hellespont.

Both Sophocles and Euripides died in the last years of the war, bringing to an end the heyday of Attic tragedy, which had begun at the time of the Persian conflict. Aeschylus' theme of divine justice and his sense of narrative economy were enacted, as we have seen, by the Oenomaus pediment at Olympia. The later works of Sophocles and, especially, Euripides present a deeply humanized and emotionally arresting perspective. The dramatic use of flamboyant and exaggerated forms, both verbal and visual, is a feature of the later sophists, marble carvers, and painters alike (see box). This dramatic, sometimes irrational, and more visual than conceptual quality of late fifth-century art will come to define the new standards and aspirations of the succeeding Late Classical era.

Box Painting and Perceptualism

From its beginning, the progression of Greek sculpture can be understood in terms of the balanced opposition between the conceptual and the perceptual and the shifts in that balance that occur with greater or lesser abruptness in different eras. One such era was the turn from the sixth to fifth centuries; another, less obvious but arguably more profound, was the turn from the fifth to the fourth. A similar revolution was under way at precisely this time in the related art of painting, where the role of perceptualism is even more apparent given the illusionistic strategies required by a two-dimensional medium.

The evidence for Greek painting, largely literary, suggests that its style developed in perfect synchronization with that of sculpture. Cimon of Cleonae, who is mentioned by Simonides and thus worked in the late Archaic period, is said by Pliny (*NH* 35.36; tr. Pollitt 1990, 125) to have invented three-quarter views and "made the distinction between the parts of the body by articulating the joints; he emphasized the veins; and, beyond that, he depicted creases and folds in the drapery" – all features that recall late Archaic red-figure vase painting and the related sculptures considered above. Large-scale mural- and panel-painting became prominent in the Early Classical period; literary descriptions and reflections in vase-painting alike indicate that the protagonists were arranged above and below one another on varying ground lines in order to embed them within a receding pictorial space. The most famous of these painters, Polygnotus, was called by Aristotle *ethographos* or "painter of *ethos* (inner quality or character)." He is said to have accomplished this by representing his subjects with open mouths and facial features less rigid than those painted by previous artists. One thinks of the contemporaneous figures from the east pediment at Olympia. His colleague and imitator Dionysius, on the other hand, was called *anthropographos*: he made men "as they were," indicating a more intellectualized approach. We hear that his works had "vigor and tension, but seem forced and labored," recalling, for example, Myron's

Discobolos.

As in sculpture, the most significant advances in the shift to perceptualism took place in the late fifth century. Agatharchos of Samos, who was active during the Peloponnesian War, wrote a treatise on *scenographia* – literally “stage-painting,” including, as Vitruvius makes clear, the theoretical principles of linear perspective necessary for persuasive depictions of architectural forms and spaces. His Athenian contemporary Apollodorus (dated by Pliny to 408) similarly established rules for *skiagraphia* or “shadow painting;” his craft was the visual suggestion of three-dimensional form by the use of light and shadow. Thus at this time were established the two most basic principles and techniques of illusionistic painting.

Like the sculptors, painters of the early fourth century built on the innovations of the later fifth. Zeuxis was admired by Apollodorus, who considered him his own successor as the master of chiaroscural effects; his work is cited for its verisimilitude, variety, and novelty. He was praised for his ability both at characterization and at conveying the transcendently ideal beauty of the female form. His counterpart was Parrhasius, renowned for his mastery of line. A famous anecdote relates a contest between them, in which the grapes painted by the latter fooled birds into thinking they were real, while the curtain painted by the former fooled his rival, and thus won the prize. That *trompe l’oeil* realism could now be an artist’s goal marks how quickly matters had changed since the far more idealized approaches of the previous century.

The outcomes of the Peloponnesian War are easily summarized: Athens’ empire is dead, although efforts to restore it are not; Sparta is seized by the un-Spartan quality of far-reaching imperial ambition, an enterprise to which it is distinctly unsuited; its clumsy attempts render Persia a protagonist again in the lives of the Anatolian Greeks, who once more fall subject to the Great King. The declining prestige of both Athens and Sparta leads to chaos among the mainland city-states, alliances and wars occurring with a dizzying complexity. Thus, the years between the Peace of Nicias in 421 and the King's Peace of 386 bring changes in the history and art of the Greek world almost as abrupt and even more far reaching than those of a century earlier, constituting an equally significant stage in the punctuated equilibrium of historical, and art historical, evolution.

Unfinished Business III – The Erechtheum, Alcamenes, and Autochthony

We lack, for the Nike complex and Propylaea, detailed building accounts like those that made the Parthenon the best documented of ancient Greek temples. Such accounts do survive for the final component of the Acropolis building program, a building specified on them as the "temple (*naos*) on the Acropolis in which the ancient image is (located)." This venerable statue was previously housed in the Archaic temple to Athena Polias, the foundations of which are preserved north of the Parthenon. This was destroyed in the Persian sack, although its western portion, at least, may have survived or been rebuilt, and traces of another structure remain to its northeast. The new temple referenced in the building accounts was erected on this last spot, overlapping the foundations of the Archaic temple, in the late fifth century (Figure 10.1).

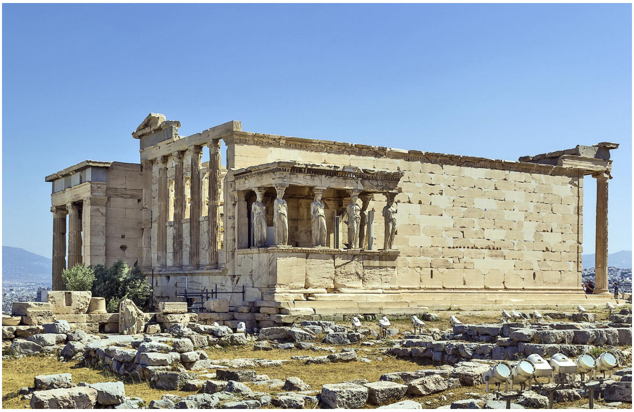


Figure 10.1 Athens, Acropolis. Erechtheum. View from

southwest. 421(?)–406.

Source: © Borisb17/iStock.

Pausanias calls it the "Erechtheum," a name found only in one other late source, although Herodotus already attests to the presence of Erechtheus' temple (and Euripides to his cult) on the Acropolis. Athena Polias had no doubt long shared her home with the cult of her favored hero/king/"offspring," and the building we call the Erechtheum had more than one name, reflecting its many functions. Pausanias (I.26.7–27.3) catalogues some of these for us: an altar to Zeus in front of the temple (he does not mention the altar to Athena Polias standing in front of the ruined Archaic temple) and within the building – in addition to the ancient Athena image – an altar to Poseidon and Erechtheus, whose cults and identities were intertwined, as well as altars to Boutes, another Athenian hero, and Hephaestus. There was also a saltwater well, a rock with trident marks, and many important dedications, including a wooden Hermes set up by Cecrops and the most elegant of the Persian spoils, possessions of the King's generals themselves. Poseidon's salt spring was there, as was Athena's olive tree, probably in the adjacent Pandroseum. The building expands the most venerable cult of the polis – Athena Polias – to embrace the entire early history of Athens and her kings, heroes, gods, and goddesses – an enduring testimony to the antiquity and autochthony of the Athenian *demos*.

The form of the building reflects the diversity and complexity of its function. At the core is an Ionic **hexastyle** temple with a prostyle east porch; the interior arrangement seems to have preserved the tripartite arrangement of its predecessors, designed to accommodate the multiple cults. The plan is truncated at the west to respect the adjacent olive tree and Pandroseum; these were at a much lower level, and above them looms the West Façade on which four engaged Ionic columns set ***in antis*** serve in lieu of a back porch. Another porch was added to the north, also at this lower level; six soaring Ionic columns carry its entablature almost (but not quite) to the level of that of the main structure. Still another porch adorns the south flank, facing the Parthenon, and accessible by a staircase from the lower floor level behind it. This, the most famous element of the Erechtheum, includes the six sculptured caryatids that, from Roman times to the present, have been among the most iconic expressions of Classical Greek culture. The disparate parts of this complex interconnect, and facilitate circulation among, the many cult areas and sacred spots that constitute Athens' earliest communal memories; the effect, functionally at least, recalls that of a pilgrimage church.

The Erechtheum is a conspicuously ornate building, every bit the jewel box (some have said reliquary) that the Siphnian treasury had been. Yet its figural sculpture is as restrained as it is unusual. There are no sculptures in the pediments and no evidence for acroteria. In addition to the caryatids, there is only the sculptured frieze above the main cella and the north porch. This was formed, uniquely, of individual figures in white Pentelic marble, cut flat in back and dowelled to the frieze blocks of contrasting blue Eleusinian limestone. Above the caryatids, on the south, was a traditional Ionic architrave without frieze, decorated only with a line of rosettes. These, the accounts tell us, were unfinished in 409 and remain unfinished today.

These records, and the temple itself, tell a story of sporadic building activity attributable to the vicissitudes of Athens' fortunes in the war. The preserved accounts cover 409–406, when work ceased for good with the building almost, but not entirely, complete. The entries from 409, before which work had been suspended for an unknown period, provide an inventory of what was done at that point. Most of the building proper had been erected, aside from the main entablature and roof, so the frieze should date to the final building stage (409–406) and the caryatids, since they are mentioned in the 409 accounts (called "korai") as already in place, are earlier, but by how much? Certain affinities in the architecture to that of the Propylaea have caused some to conclude that work on the Erechtheum began immediately after it ceased on the gateway in 432. If the latter suspension was occasioned by the impending Archidamian War, embarkation on a new building seems unlikely, but not impossible. More commonly, it is assumed that the Erechtheum was begun using resources freed up both by the completion of the Nike complex circa 423 and the Peace of Nicias in 421. The interruption could then be attributable to the diversion of resources for the Sicilian expedition of 415–413. The resumption can be connected with some Athenian victories in the east (or restoration of democracy) around 411/410, and the final abandonment of the project coincides with the Athenian defeat in 405.

The frieze, we know, is later than the caryatids, probably by at least a decade (Figure 10.2). Its sculptors, named in the accounts but unknown in literary or other epigraphic sources, betray influence from the styles developed on the Nike parapet; some or most of them surely trained with the masters whose hands have been detected on the balustrade. The traditional chronology allows overlap between the two monuments, but there was actually a gap of over a decade in execution, although not necessarily in conception and design. Like the Nike figures, the draped females of the Erechtheum frieze are characterized by deep carving, long sweeping linear folds, and strong contrasts between masses of heavy drapery and diaphanous, wet clinging cloth – often pertaining to the same garment. The style of the Erechtheum figures, however, is even more exaggerated and illogical, especially since most are seated or standing quietly, not windblown or in vigorous motion like the Nikai. Some features, especially a new tendency to bunch up drapery that obscures rather than reveals the body underneath, place these works at the transition to the Late Classical, when the rejection of High Classical visual logic is aggressively pursued.

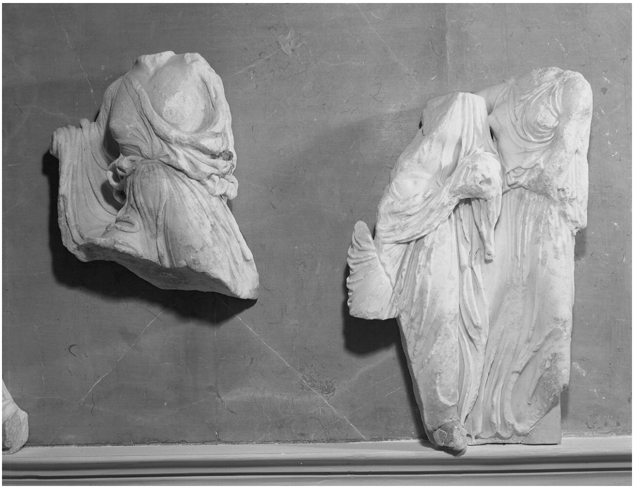


Figure 10.2 Athens, Acropolis. Erechtheum. Figures from frieze. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Marble. 409–406. H. (of frieze around

cella) 2′ (0.62 m) H. (of frieze around north porch) 2′ 3″ (0. 68 m).

Source: American School of Classical Studies at Athens Archives, Alison Frantz Photographic Collection.

As for subjects, the manner of construction has deprived us of the most important clue – the interrelationships among figures – aside from a few groups carved from a single piece of marble. There is no way of knowing if one or several subjects occupied the various sides, although the segmented nature of the building and its cult activity would favor the latter. There is no trace of violent or martial activities, but the accounts describe youths harnessing teams of horses and men with spears. Deities receiving a procession have been suggested, and the subject is apt, but nothing really indicates it; scenes of myth seem more likely. The only possible identifiable figure is a draped male with an **omphalos** – probably Apollo. Given the devotion of this building to ancient Athenian kingship, cult, and autochthony, one can imagine a scene of Ion and his divine father at Delphi. This figure is, however, a Roman replacement, probably attributable to the West Façade, which was heavily reworked under Augustus. For the other figures, mostly women and children, the obvious parallel is provided by the flanking figures of the Parthenon’s West Pediment, the subject of which is tightly connected to the Erechtheum site; both would then represent scene(s) of regal Athens, with its many prominent princesses, such as the daughters of Erechtheus and Cecrops.

The last identification is often suggested for the caryatids as well, since they partially overlie the presumed site of that king’s heroon (Figure 10.3). These six supports take the form of peplophoroi; three to the left of center stand with weight on the right leg, and those to the opposite side reverse the pose. Within each group is considerable variation in drapery rendering, so it is assumed that they were carved freehand following a pair of prototypes. Each figure stands thus with its weight on the outside leg; its vertical folds repeat the fluting of an Ionic column. The arrangement reinforces the supporting function of the statues and produces a dynamically symmetrical façade. Certain other features of the Erechtheum caryatids can also be construed as architectonic, Archaizing, or both. Despite the strong weight shift, the figure’s heads and shoulders are level and frontal. The elaborate and symmetrical coiffure, which presupposes an impossibly full head of hair, includes old-fashioned features such as spiral shoulder locks and braids around the head. Its mass and complexity invoke the lost Archaic korai and, simultaneously, strengthen the weakest parts of the marble support.

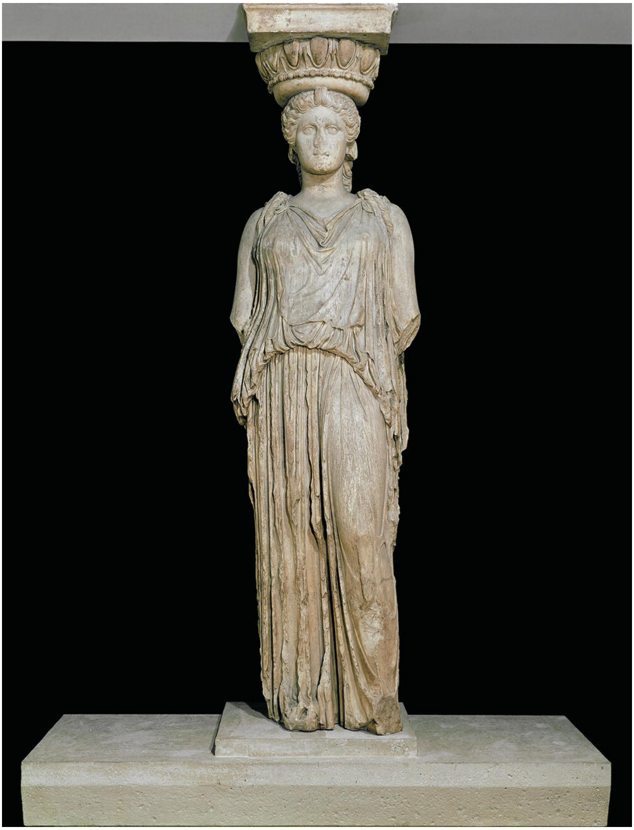


Figure 10.3 Caryatid from Erechtheum. London, British Museum 407. Marble. Circa 420–415. H. 7′ 7″ (2.13 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

We know from Roman copies that each kore originally held an offering dish in its right hand, as do certain peplophoroi on the Parthenon's East Frieze (Figure 7.9). Comparison between them illustrates the developments in drapery style over the intervening two decades. While the figures are similarly posed and garbed, the drapery over the breasts, abdomen, and free leg is much more diaphanously treated on the caryatids, and thus there is a stronger contrast with the heavy folds over the free leg and the long continuous folds that outline the forms of the projecting bent leg. Although the faces are broad, strongly symmetrical and a little heavy, there is softness in the treatment of the flesh, especially around the neck, that approaches that of the Erechtheum frieze. The commonly suggested date for the caryatids between the Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian expedition is consistent with their style.

What they signify remains an enigma, but, like so much else in the program, they resonate with the Parthenon. The Panathenaic procession passed between the two buildings and, as the Parthenon frieze suggests it included figures very much like this. The incorporation of various priestesses and female participants in the procession was, of course, appropriate to the cult of the goddess Athena, who had bidden Erechtheus' queen Praxithea to establish the very cults marked by this building. As the worshippers progressed eastward, they were flanked on the one side by the procession of the frieze and on the other by this group. The duplicated triad of korai (as the accounts call them) could not help but evoke the topos of three royal daughters (of Cecrops, Erechtheus, and others); these may, in turn, have themselves been re-figured in Athenian priestesses, who were generally of noble and thus royal descent. Such resonance of princesses with priestesses was a deliberate one; it is impossible to say whether the caryatids were meant to show one or the other, but it is difficult to deny that they embody both.

We cannot know who devised the prototype behind these figures, but Phidias' two most famous pupils – Agoracritus and Alcamenes – are often proposed. The latter attribution is supported by another marble peplophoros from the Acropolis, standing with its weight heavily on the left leg, the right bent, advanced, with its foot flat on the ground (Figure 10.4). The bent left elbow suggests a hand held to the face in somber contemplation; the head is downcast toward the small male figure who nestles against the front of her free leg and into the inner surface of her weight leg. On the Acropolis, Pausanias says, "Alcamenes dedicated Procne and Itys; Procne has decided to murder her son. Athena reveals the olive tree and Poseidon the sea wave" (1.24.3; tr. Levi, 68–69). Procne was another Athenian princess, daughter of king Pandion (thus a sister to Erechtheus), whose story was current from Sophocles' lost *Tereus*, produced during the first half of the Peloponnesian war. She was wed to the Thracian Tereus, who raped her sister Philomela and tore out her tongue lest she reveal his crime. Philomela wove the story into a cloth and showed it to Procne, who, in retaliation, killed her son Itys and fed his remains to his father. Tereus pursued the two women, but the gods turned all three into birds before he could exact revenge. Pausanias' indication that Alcamenes' dedication stood near another group depicting the gifts of Athena and Poseidon implies a further connection between it and the cultic traditions of the Erechtheum. These were the last monuments mentioned before the cult area of Zeus Polieus, so they must have held a prominent place toward the east end of the corridor between the two great Athena temples, near the culmination of the Panathenaic procession.

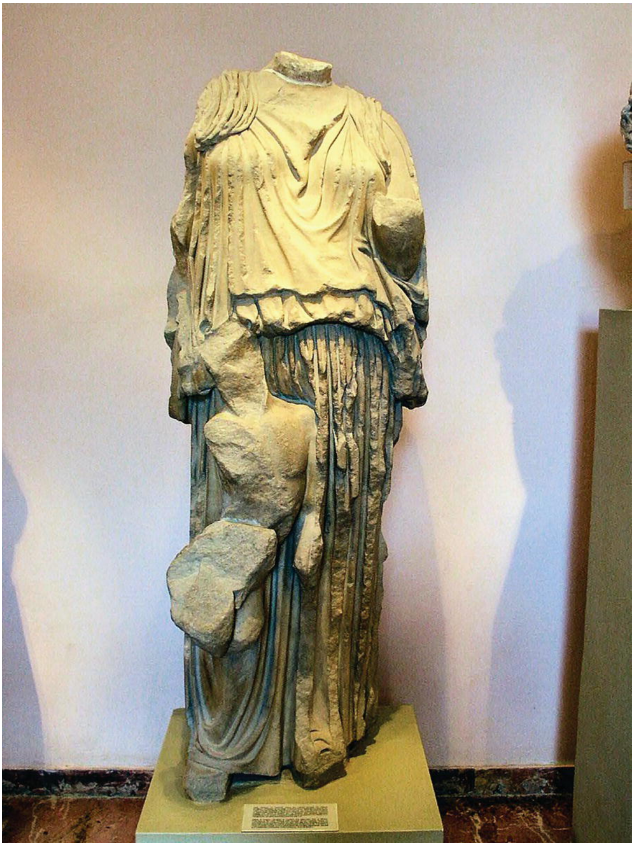


Figure 10.4 Alcamenes. Procne and Itys from Acropolis. Athens,

Acropolis Museum 1358. Marble. Circa 420(?). H. 5′ 4″ (1.63 m).

Source: Jean-Francois Badu.

Our peplophoros is very likely the Procne seen by Pausanias and thus a rare original dedicatory statue from High Classical times, and one with a narrative composition. In the tradition of the “Classical moment,” we see none of the violence in the episode; rather, the mother contemplates her plight, weighing the horrific nature of her act against the crime that must be avenged. She shares her pose and its resultant sense of foreboding with Sterope on the Olympia East Pediment; both engage with the timeless issues of divine justice and mortal duty before the gods. Yet another sculpture with its subject taken from early, regal Athens, it draws yet again on issues of Athenian identity and autochthony, it has also been convincingly linked to its Peloponnesian War context as a message to Athenian women concerning the necessity of sacrifice and responsibility. The group functions very like Attic tragedy in using myth to embody enduring moral conflicts and communal values in an engaging and performative manner.

The most obvious formal parallel is provided by the Erechtheum caryatids, with which this statue shares both garment and pose. Procne’s drapery is heavier and less diaphanous than the caryatids’, even doughy in places, so the statue has been placed as early as the 430s. Its arrangement, however, in the form of the overfold and kolpos and in the use of fold patterns over the breasts to emphasize contrapposto, is close to that of the caryatids. In fact the weight shift here is more pronounced, and the deep carving of the folds over the legs, and especially the long continuous parabolic fold pattern that outlines the free leg, approaches the style of the Erechtheum frieze. Stylistically more prospective than retrospective, the statue displays mannerisms that will become common in the early fourth century, such as the massiveness of the drapery (cf. Figure 12.1) and the pronounced off-balance lean of the boy Itys, whose left leg seems to bear no weight whatsoever. This statue is later, not earlier, than the caryatids, and it is tempting, but speculative, to connect its dramatic and disturbing theme with the despair of Athens after the Sicilian disaster.

It is not certain that it was Alcamenes the sculptor who dedicated this group, but it is a logical inference. To judge from the sources and his commissions, he succeeded Phidias as Athens' most sought-after sculptor. His statue of Hephaestus, praised for revealing the god's handicap without diminishing his divine aspect, was almost certainly the large bronze set up, together with Athena, in the Hephaesteum between 421 and 415. At this same time he may also have made the model(s) for the Erechtheum caryatids. Indeed, profits from these important projects may have funded the Procne dedication thereafter, as its style suggests. Nor were these his only major commissions; he constructed a chryselephantine cult statue for the Temple of Dionysus in Athens and another, in bronze, for the temple of Ares; his Aphrodite in the Gardens, presumably the one with which he bested Agoracritus, was much admired by Pausanias. His distinguished career stretched until at least 403, when he carved a relief to commemorate the restoration of democracy.

About the appearance of these major commissions we know little, but two of his other works are reflected in Roman replicas. Both were displayed near the entrance to the acropolis, and both were distinctly formalized, lending them a "rootedness" and immobility that would befit their apotropaic function as temenos boundary markers. Pausanias notes a Hermes Propylaeus, "before the gates," which is connected with two (slightly different) herm types inscribed as works of Alcamenes. Each has a High Classical face surmounted by a shelf of archaizing snail-shell curls. Nearby stood the Hecate Epipyrgidia ("on the tower"), also mentioned by Pausanias, who notes both its triple-bodied form and its location beside the "Temple of Wingless Victory." There exist many marble **hecataea** – triple-bodied images of Hecate – from Hellenistic and Roman times, nearly all rendered in an "archaistic" style, wherein formal linear patterning typical of Archaic drapery is combined with stylistically later features (Figure 10.5). Often the garments are given roughly Archaic forms, with diagonal mantles like those on sixth-century korai. However, one type presents a fully Classical peplos that is archaized by the application of an axially symmetrical drapery arrangement centered on a swallowtail in the overfold and a herringbone pattern in the skirt. This is not a later reinterpretation of fully Archaic forms, but rather the rendering of a Classical garment in an archaized style. The form is surely a High Classical invention, and the best candidate for its origin is Alcamenes' Hecate statue itself, where it may have been meant to emphasize the statuary nature of a physically impossible image – what is sometimes termed "tectonic" archaism.

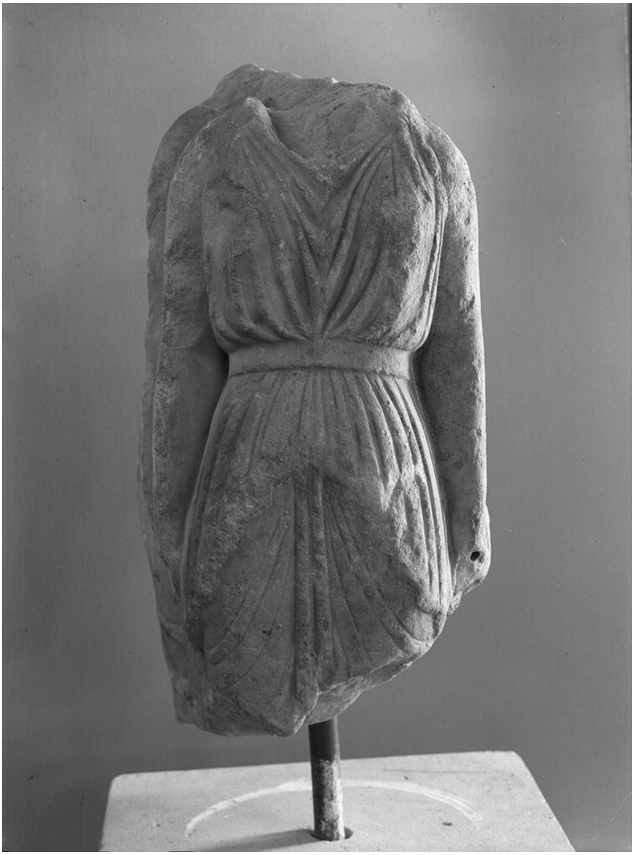


Figure 10.5 Alcamenes, Hecate Epipyrgidia. Marble copy of original on Acropolis, circa 420–400, material unknown. Athens, British School S21. H. 1′ 1″ (0.33 m).

Source: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, DAI-ATH-Athen Varia 1199, photograph Eva-Maria Czako.

Alcamenes, then, is connected with at least two archaizing works, and perhaps more, considering Pausanias' comment that the Aphrodite in the Gardens had a "quadrangular form, like that of the herms" (1.19.2). Moreover, the first use of archaized Athena images (rather than repeated Archaic images) on Panathenaic prize amphorae occurs at this same time. It is often concluded that the archaistic style in Greek art was developed toward the end of the fifth century, and Alcamenes emerges as the best candidate for its inventor. At a time and place when a reverence for the ancient local past was repeatedly manifested by the display of stories about the first kings of the land and when new respect was paid to the traditional spots and physical markers of these events, the development of an archaizing style could have been prompted by a desire to embody venerability and a connection to place that evokes autochthony. The "rootedness" of such images as herms and hecataea embodies the sense of autochthony as being "born from the earth" as well as indigenous, which, according to many, comes to the fore at just this time. A logical outgrowth of the stylistic plurality that emerges in the Parthenon sculptures, such experimentation accords with the increasing artistic self-consciousness that marks the transition from High to Late Classical sculpture, paralleling the equally mannerist, calligraphic, and elaborate "rich" style of the Nike parapet.

Architectural Sculpture in the Peloponnese

The Argive Heraeum

The Argive sanctuary of Hera housed the most important cult in the region and was a venerable place of worship, its significance to the locals reflected in the tradition of Cleobis and Biton, related by Herodotus (Chapter 2). The Archaic temple burned in 423, but, since its successor stands on a different terrace, its replacement could have been started before the fire. Nonetheless, the style of the architecture and sculptures suggests that, even if it were, work continued to the end of the century. The temple contained a chryselephantine statue of the goddess; if the work was, as asserted, by the famous Polyclitus, it must have been among his very last. More likely it was from his workshop. The statue is of course lost, indeed of the temple itself there is little but foundations, but extensive, if fragmentary, remains of superstructure allow a fairly complete reconstruction of its form.

Many fragments remain, too, of sculptured metopes and pediments, but most are small and the program is not well understood. Pausanias provides an account of the myths portrayed: "The works above the columns deal on one side with the birth of Zeus and the battle of gods and giants, on the other with the Trojan War and the fall of Troy" (2.17.3; tr. Levi, 169). He neglects, however, to give any indication of where each subject was placed.

The most agreed-upon interpretation is that the pediments held the taking of Troy and the birth of Zeus, while the metopes held the Gigantomachy and Trojan War scenes. The pedimental Iliupersis seems assured by the presence of two archaistic Athena idols clasped by hands. These could show an abduction of the Palladium, or a Trojan woman taking refuge at a statue. One has the diagonal ruffled mantle common on late Archaic korai (Figure 10.6), the other the foldless dress of the Peplos kore, maybe a deliberate attempt to render relative stages of age and venerability. The metope fragments indicate the presence of Amazons, not mentioned by Pausanias, which could come from an Amazonomachy at Troy, as found on at least two other temples from around this time. Some have postulated that these come from the long sides and thus were not noted by Pausanias, or from above the pronaos. The use of sculptured metopes all around the peristyle, (which remains a point of dispute) would recall the Parthenon, as do the subjects chosen, and further influence from that temple could be detected in the pedimental birth scene. While here the birth is not that of the temple's occupant – Hera herself – but rather her consort, the cults of the two were closely intertwined. Pausanias' description of the cult statue implies strongly that she was modeled after Phidias' Zeus. While the emphasis on the Trojan War is locally pertinent given the prominent role of Argolidic kings, the choice of subjects seems Panhellenic when contrasted with the patent parochialism of the Athenians. While the relative weight of Attic versus Peloponnesian traits in the temple has been a topic of much debate, it is likely, at least, that workers active in the massive Periclean program found employment at Argos after commissions dried up in Athens.

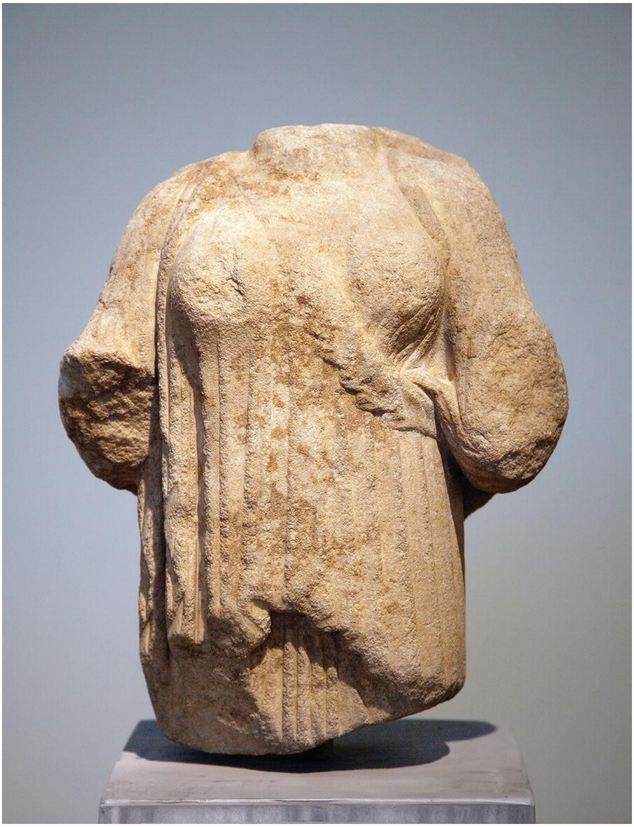


Figure 10.6 Argive Heraeum, Temple to Hera. Archaistic idol from Iliupersis Pediment. Marble. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3869. Circa 420–400. H. 1′ (0.32 m).

Source: Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Photostock/ Konstantinos Kontos.

The sculptures are undergoing a thorough re-evaluation that may alter our impressions, but certain observations can be made. Generally, the style suggests a date consistent with that of the architecture, circa 420–400. Faces retain the impassive aspect of the time; the so-called “Head of Hera” shares features of its hairstyle with the Erechtheum caryatids, although its proportions seem somewhat later. Many heads, especially from the metopes, tend to be squat and blocky, in keeping with fourth-century developments as also on the Bassae frieze (Figure 10.7). Eyes on the Heraeum heads can be deeply set, suggesting facial expression, although this feature is not nearly so evident as at contemporary Bassae. Drapery flourishes recall the Erechtheum frieze (and again, Bassae), with much clinging drapery and flowing, outlining, sometimes illogical folds. Male physiognomy is athletic, its distinct emphasis on and linear depiction of underlying musculoskeletal structure recalling the Parthenon. Some have seen in this the continued influence of the Polyclitan school; others view it as index of Atticism. That both can be argued reflects both the transitional aspect of the era and our only provisional understanding of Classical regionalism.

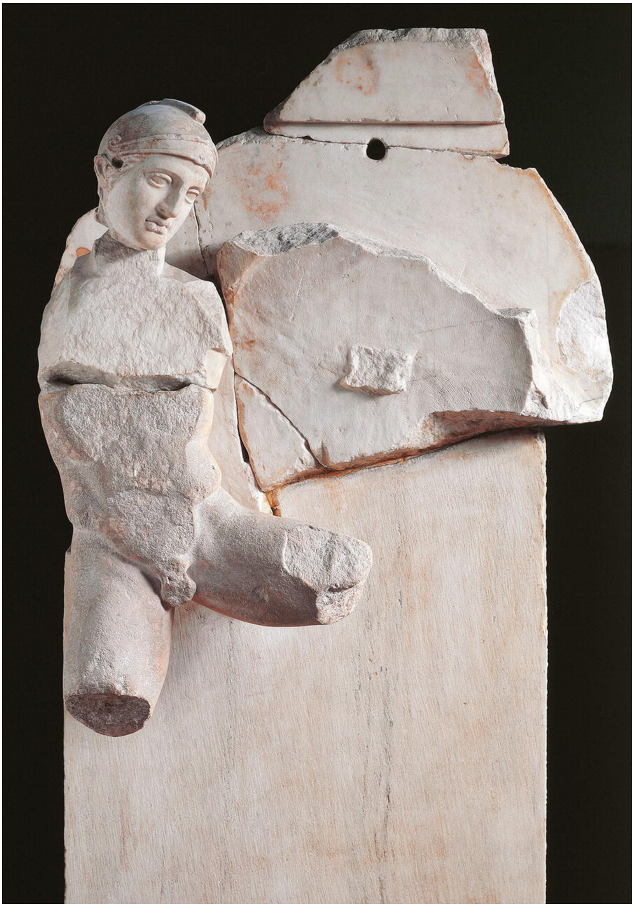


Figure 10.7 Argive Heraeum, Temple to Hera. Metope. Marble. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1573. Circa 420–400. H. 2′ 6″ (0.76 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah.

The Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae

This large temple, near the polis of Phigalia in remote Arcadia, was much admired by Pausanias (8.41.8–9; tr. Levi, 474): “Of all the temples in the Peloponnese this one could be considered second only to the temple at Tegea for its proportions and the beauty of its stone. Apollo was named ‘Helper’ (*Epikourios*) because of a plague, just as he was called ‘Averter of Evil’ (*Alexikakos*) at Athens for turning away a pestilence there. His action at Phigalia as at Athens was during the Peloponnesian War.” He goes on to name Ictinus as the architect. Scholars have struggled to reconcile this building with the early 420s date suggested by Pausanias’ remarks, since the style of the building, especially the sculptures, fits best at the end of the fifth century. Old-fashioned elements in the temple’s plan and proportions, at one time taken to indicate a still earlier date, are understood today as retained from the temple’s predecessors, reflective of currently evolving archaizing tendencies. Pausanias’ interpretation of “Epicurius” is now generally rejected and the epithet seen as a reference to Apollo as patron of mercenaries, with the sculptures interpreted in a martial context. The connection with Ictinus is both defended and questioned; there were many ways in which the features of Attic architecture were disseminated at this time. Without the evidence of Pausanias the date of the temple is not externally fixed, but it is generally placed in the last quarter of the century, based on pottery in the foundation fill, and should have been completed around 400; how long after this work on the sculptures may have continued is a point of debate. As often in the Peloponnese, local material (in this case limestone) was used for most of the building, while the sculptures and capitals of the interior columns were in an imported marble, now thought to be mostly Parian with some Pentelic.

The temple is noted for the many peculiar features of its plan – northward orientation, single Corinthian column where a cult statue might be expected, and peculiar back room in which

Apollo's sacred image was illuminated through a door in the east sekos wall. The placement of architectural sculpture shares this interest in the unexpected. The exterior was unadorned, aside from floral acroteria. Carved metopes above the porches recall temples of the Early Classical period, but the viewer would then pass through an unusually deep pronaos into a cella unlike anything seen before. The Corinthian column (perhaps the first ever) would have been more than a mild surprise, and an Ionic interior colonnade, by focusing the viewer's attention on it, underscores its role as stand-in for a cult statue. Each Ionic column attaches to a projecting spur wall, and a continuous carved frieze runs above them, around all four sides of the interior. It portrays a Centauromachy and an Amazonomachy, with no physical separation between the different stories, as necessarily results from the arrangement of sculpture on a temple's exterior, so all was simultaneously visible. Cella interiors, designed to showcase the god's statuary epiphany and offerings, had previously lacked sculptured elaboration of this sort. Now the image was hidden away, replaced by a novel architectural element, and the viewer was encircled by narrative. In an era of introspection, archaism, even mysticism, this was a new form of religious building.

The metopes are not well preserved. Comparisons have been drawn with Paeonius' Nike and the contemporaneous Nike parapet, but the most recent study places the work in the last decade of the century, contemporary with the Erechtheum frieze. Shared traits include clinging drapery with sharply incised surface detail, deeply carved massive drapery, and emphasis on chiaroscural modeling. Pausanias does not mention the sculptures at all, so the subject(s) of the metopes must be inferred from the remains. One fragment reported as having come from the south end (back) of the temple shows a heavily draped woman with a hand clasping her neck (Figure 10.8). Another shows a seated old man, whose flaccid torso strongly recalls the Olympia seer, although the treatment here is greatly exaggerated. The latest study sees here the abduction of the Leucippidae by the Dioscuri, with Leucippus himself as onlooker. The myth is pertinent at this time and place, since it recalls the traditionally aggressive and exploitative relationship of the Spartans (Dioscuri) to Messenians (Leucippides); the latter were traditionally allied with the Arcadians in enmity against the Spartans and were only unwilling participants in Sparta's Peloponnesian League. That the brothers and sisters in question were in fact cousins only underscores the impious aspect of Sparta's treatment of her neighbors.

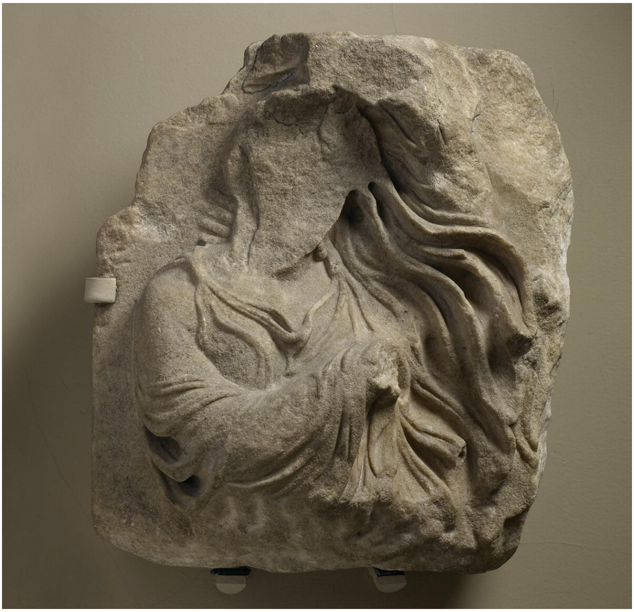


Figure 10.8 Bassae, Temple to Apollo Epicurius. Metope of abduction scene. London, British Museum 517. Marble. Circa 400. H. 1′ 5″ (0.42 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

These south metopes, of course, face Messenia, and those over the pronaos, facing north, represent the return of Apollo from the land of the Hyperboreans ("those beyond the north wind"). His annual return from the homeland of his mother Leto marked the coming of spring, underscoring the fertility aspect of his cult. The best-preserved fragment shows Apollo as citharode in a Thracian animal skin cap. The other metopes are thought to show his retinue of draped female dancers, his sister Artemis, his parents (Zeus and Leto), and perhaps Aphrodite and Arcas, eponymous hero of Arcadia. The long sequence of superimposed temples indicates the antiquity of the cult; each was oriented north, so the association with Hyperborean Apollo was present from the beginning. Arcadians, as much as the Athenians, had claim to autochthony; they were not Doric-speakers and may here too have been asserting their difference from Dorian Sparta.

Unlike the fragmentary metopes, the frieze is nearly intact. The arrangement of the 23 preserved slabs has been the topic of long debate, but a complete study of every architectural detail of the building has allowed a restoration based on matching the frieze slabs with their backer blocks. On the north side, above the door from the pronaos, Apollo and Artemis in a chariot appear in the Centauromachy (Figure 10.9). Opposite, and centered above the Corinthian column, a youthful hero with lion skin faces off against an Amazon with a bunched mantle wrapped around her waist. The latter group is taken to represent Heracles fighting the Amazon queen Hippolyta, who has given up her girdle (her drapery functioning as a belt) and, having second thoughts, engages in the battle that rages around her (Figure 10.10). The Centauromachy takes up the entire south end of the cella and all but one block of the east. A centaur here violates a female figure taking refuge at a statue of Artemis (in the archaistic form of Alcamenes' Hecate), which implies a sanctuary setting inconsistent with the wedding feast of Peirithous and Hippodamaea (Figure 10.11). Yet a similar profanation occurs in the Amazonomachy, so one theme here is surely divine retribution for transgressive behavior. The Caeneus episode is included, as on the Hephaesteum, allowing a massing of weapons; indeed, the protagonists are rather more fully armed across the entire frieze than we normally see, a few even in full hoplite armor. This recalls Apollo Epicurius as patron of mercenaries, which Arcadia provided in quantity.

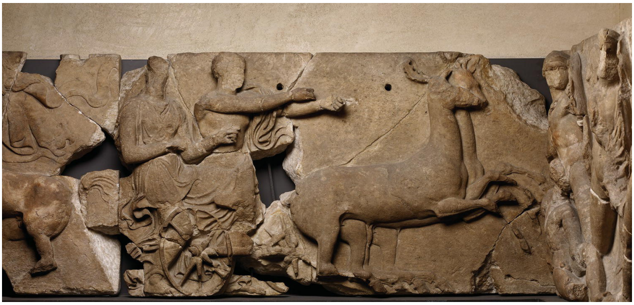


Figure 10.9 Bassae, Temple to Apollo Epicurius. Frieze, Apollo and Artemis. London, British Museum 523. Marble. Circa 400. H. 2′ 1″ (0.64 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

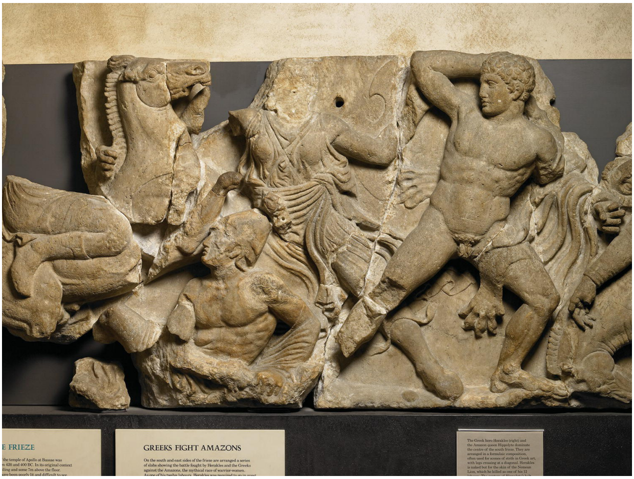


Figure 10.10 Bassae, Temple to Apollo Epicurius. Frieze, Heracles and Hippolyta. London, British Museum 541. Marble. Circa 400. H. 2′ 1″ (0.64 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

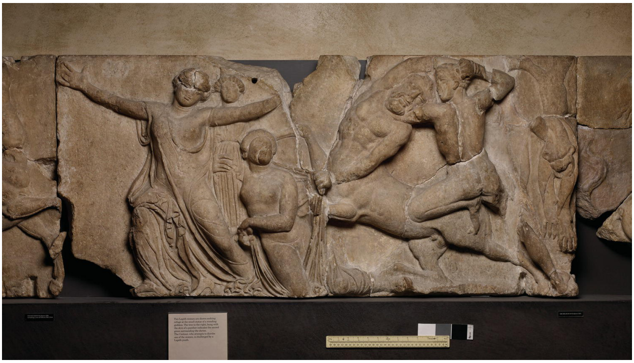


Figure 10.11 Bassae, Temple to Apollo Epicurius. Frieze, Centauromachy. London, British Museum 524. Marble. Circa 400. H. 2′ 1″ (0.64 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

These subjects recall the Parthenon metopes and the Parthenos herself, and many figural types thought to have adorned her shield are reprised and modified for the battles here. Most conspicuous are the groups of a figure assisting a wounded comrade, which occurs twice on the Amazonomachy, and hair-pulling scenes, which occur across all subjects. Tyrannicide poses, and variations on them, proliferate. The group of Heracles and Hippolyta quote the Athena and Poseidon from the Parthenon's West Pediment. The sculptors here (three hands have been detected) were working from a figural repertoire that originated in Athens and disseminated widely. The frieze was carved by hands different from the one to whom the metopes are attributed. Fourth-century features in the frieze and normal construction order make it later than the metopes, but architectural evidence indicates that all was complete by 400.

The highly theatrical frieze places a strong emphasis on violence and high drama, even melodrama. Eyes are deeply set, implying pain, fear, and despair. Now familiar poses and groupings are exaggerated, as though the protagonists were overacting. Drapery conventions are employed with an equally overblown style. The flying mantle of the Nike temple battle friezes takes on a life of its own, occupying vast amounts of background with deep chiaroscuro and flourishes more mannered even than those of the parapet reliefs. Some treatments of male musculature are quite linear and structural, but often, especially on centaurs, the muscles swell through the skin, overwhelming linear divisions and marking the shift in emphasis from structure to surface. That these sculptures are at the brink of Late Classical is indicated by inclusion of many features that become commonplace in the fourth century, especially in the forms and proportions of the human body, the elaboration of drapery as a subject in its own right, and a distinctly innovative exploration of pictorial illusionism.

Funerary Relief Sculpture and the Peloponnesian War

The use of the large marble funerary marker, so important as a sign of piety and prestige in Archaic times, ceased in Athens at the end of the sixth century. A change in custom, if not an official ban, accompanied the political and social transformation during civic reorganization under Cleisthenes. The practice was revived, to judge from the style of the stones themselves, during the

Archidamian war. Identifying the motivation is guesswork. The war (and the plague) produced a markedly higher death rate and perhaps a reassessment of the importance of noble death and commemoration. Moreover, after the completion of the Parthenon a number of well-trained sculptors were in need of employment, and demand apparently responded to supply. That votive reliefs and document reliefs also begin to be carved in quantity at this same time favors the latter explanation, but the revival was likely motivated by a concomitance of causes. Unlike the tall marble stele, usually with a single figure, that were most often used in Archaic times, Classical reliefs are broad and usually show multiple figures; instead of the sphinx or palmette finials, the later markers are often crowned with imitation roofs. With flanking columns added, the stelae came to resemble small freestanding structures ("naiskoi"), especially in the fourth century, when the figures became more three dimensional.

The gravestone of Eupheros, from the Cerameicus, is among the earliest of the Classical series (Figure 10.12). In its simple flat-footed pose, strict profile rendering, and lack of spatial penetration it is stylistically close to the Parthenon frieze, although there is little more transparency in its clinging sections of drapery. It should date to the first years of the war; some have connected it directly to the plague. It recalls the Archaic examples in being relatively narrow with a single figure, and in emphasizing the identity of its honoree as an athlete by the inclusion of his **strigil** (body-scraper), which he contemplates with a Parthenonian impassivity. Like the Archaic boxer and discophorus reliefs in this same necropolis, the Eupheros relief glorifies athletic achievement both for its own sake and for its close connections with military training and duty to the polis.

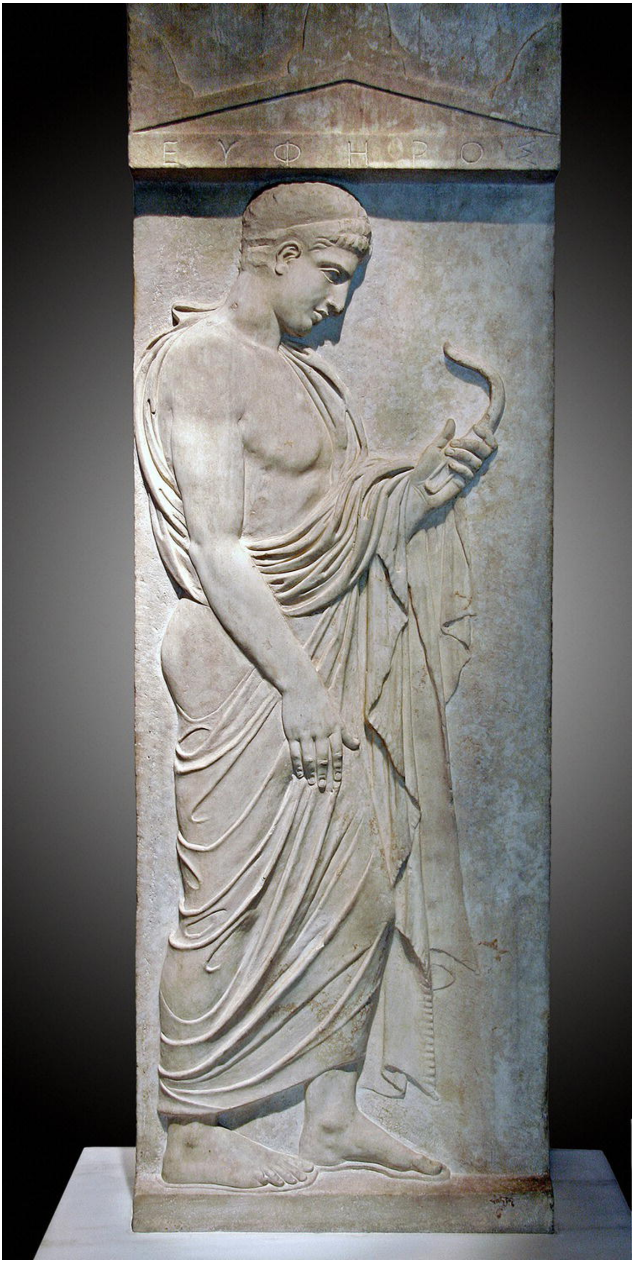


Figure 10.12 Stele of Eupheros. Athens, Cerameicus Museum P1169. Marble. Circa 430–420. H. 4′ 10″ (1.47 m).

Source: Athens, Cerameicus Museum. Photostock/Konstantinos

Kontos.

Most Classical grave reliefs, however, are quite different; the messages they convey about life, death, duty, and commemoration are more personal than political. The so-called Cat Stele is another early work, though much more three dimensional in both pose and form than the Eupheros stele (Figure 10.13). An equally Parthenonian idealized youth stands frontally, his weight on the right leg, wearing a simple wrapped mantle. His head turns sharply to his right, gazing at an object that he either holds or reaches toward with his right hand; it is likely a cage, since he holds a bird in his left. Below and behind his arm is a stele on which a headless feline (sphinx?) is perched; a small boy standing frontally leans heavily against the stele in an unbalanced pose reminiscent of Alcamenes' Itys. The depiction of a funerary monument is unusually explicit and strongly reminiscent of the many graveside scenes painted on contemporary white ground funerary lecythi. The bird imagery is shared with a famous Early Classical relief from Paros; perhaps it suggests the release of an immortal soul. The mood is somber, captured especially in the gaze of the little boy, who pitiably mourns the departed youth.

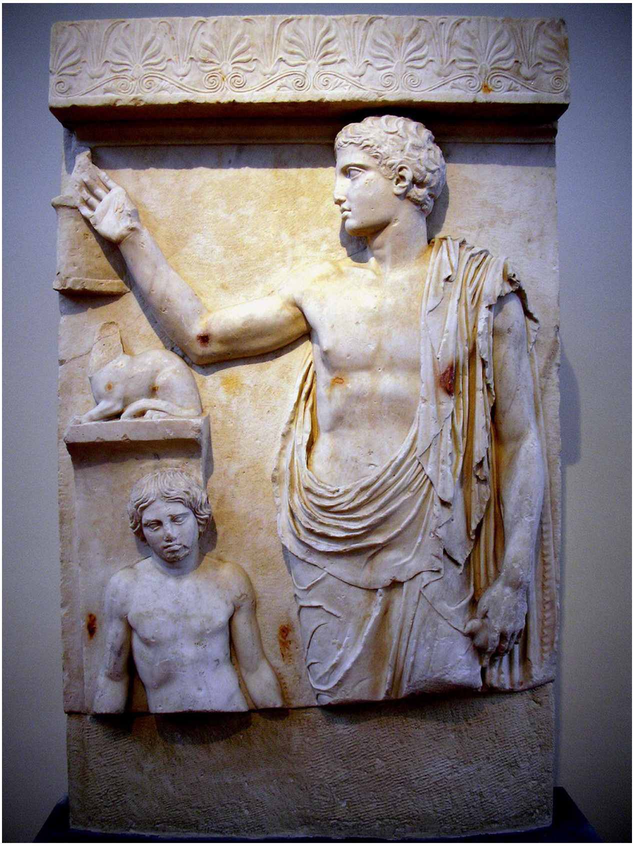


Figure 10.13 Cat Stele. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 715. Marble. Circa 430–420. H. 3′ 5″ (1.04 m).

Source: © Allstar Picture Library/Alamy.

This mood, if not the direct funerary reference, is typical of Classical gravestones. The dominant subject, by far, is a domestic one with two or more members of a household present – husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, matron and servant, or entire family groups representing multiple generations. The scene can be one of preparation for passing and/or the separation that death necessarily effects. A typical fifth-century example is the stele of Hegeso daughter of Proxenos (Figure 10.14). The drapery and figural style suggest a date toward the end of the century. The frame is shallow and the figures in low relief. A decorously draped young woman sits on a high-backed chair (*klismos*), her hair carefully gathered into a headdress. She removes from a jewel box (*pyxis*) an object, perhaps a necklace, painted on the stone; she is in the act of further adorning herself. The pyxis is held by an attendant in a simple tunic; her presence, like the elaborate chair and jewelry, marks the status of the young woman, who must be the deceased. All else is speculation. It is tempting to think of her as a girl who died unmarried, like Phrasikleia, adorning herself for her marriage to death itself, but that may be too romantic. It is a quiet, Classical moment, poignant and suggestive; as was the case for mythological scenes, its meaning was clear enough to its audience, but, owing to the ambiguity and idealism of the Classical style, inscrutable for the modern viewer.

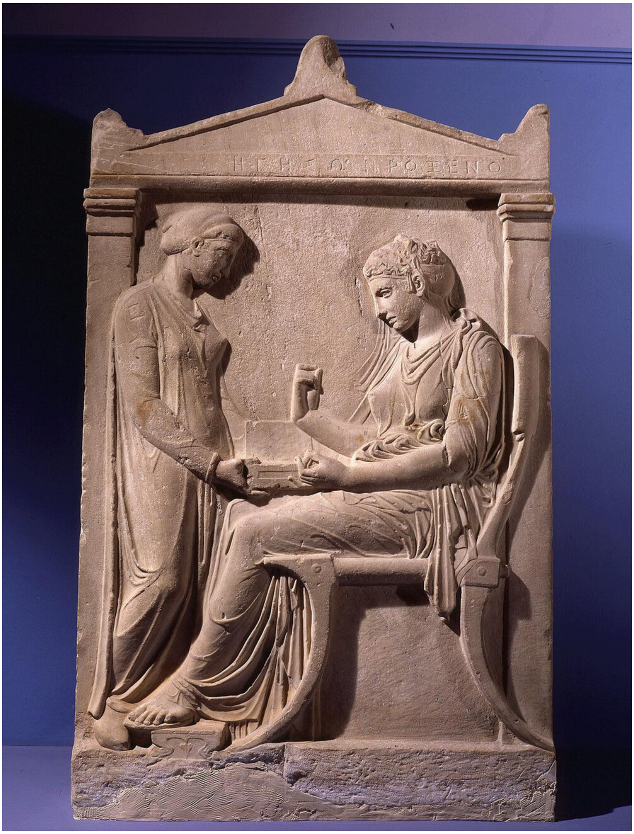
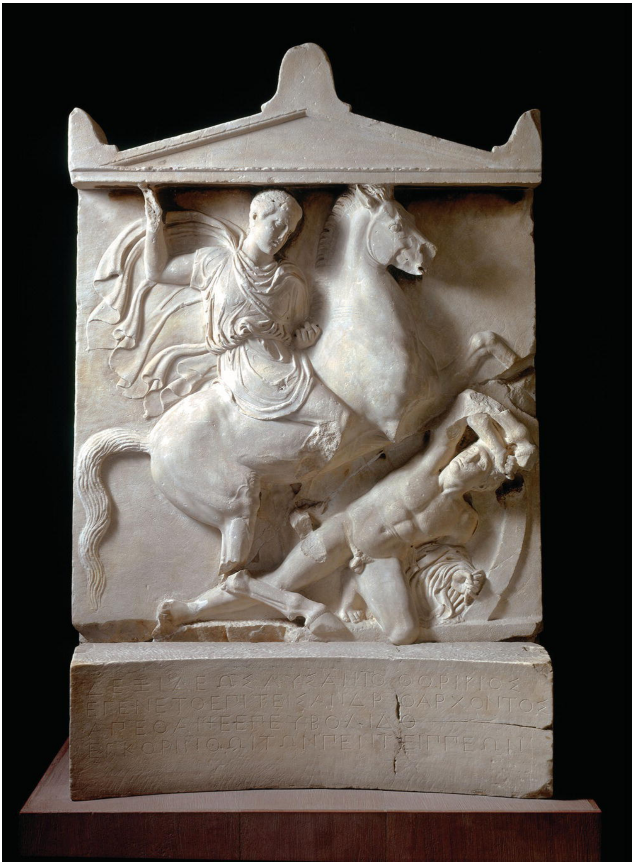


Figure 10.14 Hegeso Stele. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3624. Marble. Circa 410–400. H. 5′ 2″ (1.58 m).

Source: © The Art Archive/Alamy.

A final relief commemorates an Athenian warrior named Dexileos, just 20 years of age, who died in a battle at Corinth fought in 394 (Figure 10.15). Fear and jealousy of Sparta, who had pressed her newly acquired imperial aspirations since her defeat of Athens, had forged an unlikely alliance between Athens, Corinth, Argos, and the Boeotians. Allied losses in the battle (including Dexileos) were considerable, but the Spartans were denied control of the Isthmus of Corinth, which had been their objective. Yet the enterprise was typically fourth century in both its protean, *ad hoc*, alliances and in its lack of resolution; neither the Peloponnesian War, nor its two-generation-long aftermath, would bring peace or stability to the interrelationships among the Greek poleis. As for the relief, although it stood in a family plot in the Cerameicus, the deceased it references would, as a war casualty, have been interred together with his fallen comrades in the public cemetery nearby; this monument is a **cenotaph** rather than a gravestone. The scene it portrays, a foot soldier dispatched by a cavalryman, uses a stock composition paralleled on battle friezes already discussed. There is strong foreshortening in the left leg of the vanquished figure, but the relief plane is impermeable throughout, the figures strongly sculptural, even statuesque. With their exaggerated gestures, as at Bassae, they constitute a theatrical and performative re-enactment of young Dexileos' heroic acts. At Bassae the pictorial sense of spatial penetration is much more effectively employed. Yet there are innovations here too, such as the sharp twist at the waist, used somewhat awkwardly to keep both frontal torso and profile horse parallel to the background plane. A generation later it will develop into true three-dimensional spiral torsion. Sculptural expression is now at the eve of something quite radically different, again, as fundamental a change as that of the Persian War era. Yet, more so than before, sculptors and designers look continually backward as they compete and strive for something new, resulting in a stylistic progression that is as intractable, especially in hindsight, as the continually shifting sands of inter-poleis relationships.


ΔΕΞΙΛΕΩΣΛΥΣΑΝΙΟΘΟΡΙΚΙΟΣ
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ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΕΠΕΥΒΟΛΙΔΟ
ΕΓΚΟΡΙΝΘΩΙΤΩΝΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΠΕΩΝ

Figure 10.15 Dexileos Stele. Athens, Cerameicus Museum P1130. Marble. Circa 393–390. H. 5′ 9″ (1.75 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence.

11

Idealism and Individuality I: Late Classical Architectural Sculpture (circa 390–330)

The Peloponnesian War and its aftermath were highly transformative. While *ad hoc* alliances had been negotiated among city-states from the beginning of their formation, during the fifth century formal leagues created to check the rise of a foreign power or a Greek one became established institutions. Nor were these alliances formed solely in response to external pressures, since they often shifted with the alternating ascendancies of democratic (i.e., pro-Athenian) or oligarchic (i.e., pro-Spartan) governments. During the half-century between the King's Peace and the Battle of Chaeronea (386–338), these leagues and alliances proliferated and mutated, as Sparta, Thebes, Athens, and others jockeyed for position by means of warfare, diplomacy, and treachery. Old ones (Spartan, Athenian, Boeotian) continued and others (Aetolian, Achaean, Thessalian, Arcadian) arose. They would continue to be a fact of life well after the autonomy of the Greek states had been ceded, effectively if not officially, first to Macedon and ultimately to Rome.

Two aspects of this situation are pertinent to the study of Greek art. First, although the political and religious institutions of the individual city-states continued as before, one can sense a shift in the degree to which an individual seeks his identity from participation in the institutions and communal values of his own polis. This manifests itself in a number of ways, including the rise of new cults, especially those concerned with the physical and spiritual well-being of its adherents, and, among the educated classes, the emergence of varying "schools" of philosophy, which sought to resolve traditional ethical, epistemological, physical, and ontological questions through individual reason and communal dialogue. All of this is deeply rooted in traditions of the fifth century, but in the fourth individuals increasingly feel greater freedom to explore and develop their own possibilities. The second, more pragmatic, result of the often-chaotic politics is that no one polis ever assembled anything like the concentration of power and resultant resources that Athens had enjoyed during most of the fifth century. Thus no polis had the capability, nor did any feel the need, to set up so dazzling an array of temples with such elaborate sculptural programs. Consequently, no single artistic center would ever have the same kind of impact on the overall development of the visual arts. Artists increasingly sought their fortune in different areas of Greece, including the Peloponnese, Ionia, and the non-Greek provinces of the Persian Empire (see box). Thus the conditions were favorable for the proliferation of differing but contemporaneous styles, prompted already by the increasing stylistic pluralism and retrospective tendencies of late fifth-century Athens.

Box Itinerant Artists and Regional Schools

When Mausolus’ great tomb in Halicarnassus came to be constructed, sculptors could be summoned from various regions of Greece, since they travelled widely to accept and execute commissions wherever they were available. These artists came from the Greek mainland and the Cyclades, yet they were also active throughout the Greek and the Asiatic regions of Anatolia and, in the case of Bryaxis, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt as well. While such monuments as the Mausoleum and the earlier Nereid Monument might suggest that this mobility of artisans was a Late Classical phenomenon, it was more the rule than the exception throughout the history of Greek sculpture. Even Daedalus, legendary father of Greek sculpture, came to the mainland from Crete, and Euthycartides of Naxos, whose signature is the first we have, dedicated his statue not in his home polis but on nearby Delos. Indeed, the fact that so many sculptures were set up in sanctuaries used commonly by many Greek poleis meant that there was ample opportunity for cross-influences among artists from all different regions. Sculptors were more mobile than statues, which were both heavy and fragile, so that it made sense to bring materials and artisans to the site of eventual display, where much of the work could be completed on the spot.

Regional schools are distinguished in Greek vase-painting, letter forms, architectural styles, and even philosophy and poetry, most clearly in the early Archaic period. The variations resulted from the independent, even isolated, nature of the separate city-states, despite the shared aspects of Greek culture. In Chapter 2, we traced this phenomenon in sculpture as well, noting the distinctive styles used in Ionian, Cycladic, and mainland workshops. However, the process is far from straightforward. A group of stylistically related early korai ranges in provenience from Chios to Cyrene to the Cyclades to Attica, its Parian origin largely guesswork. The earliest Attic kouroi were likely the work of Naxian sculptors travelling together with the marble, while the common distinction between Naxian and Parian work is as much a matter of date as style. Nor are ethnics very useful. Aristion of Paros signed the Phrasikleia, its style clearly Attic. The blending of regional trends into late Archaic sculptural style was the culmination of a century-long development.

The much-heralded Panhellenism of the Early Classical period has not prevented the construction of a "Peloponnesian" school around the Olympia sculptures, yet there was no tradition of marble carving (or good sculptural marble) in the region, so where did the sculptors come from who worked the Parian stone of the metopes and pediments? Do the differing forms of weight shift found in the statuary of Phidias and Polyclitus (to the extent that we understand it) truly constitute, as is often asserted, an Attic versus Peloponnesian stance? Later still, Agoracritus of Paros made statues mistaken for those of Phidias, and the original work we have from Paeonius, from Mende in the distant Chalcidice, reflects the tradition of the Athenian Nike sculptures.

The breaking down of regional distinctions in Greek sculpture, then, was a process that was already well under way when Pisistratid Athens attracted craftsmen from around the Greek world, proceeding further still as the Delian League unified the Aegean through military and economic force. Nor were the activities of Greek sculptors limited to the Greek poleis themselves, ranging from the Troad to Lycia to the palace of the Great King himself. The Mausoleum is often seen as a precursor to the "international" sculptured projects of the slightly later Hellenistic kings, and rightly so. Yet the innovation, and the connection with the Hellenistic, is less in its employment of an "international" team of Greek sculptors in the service of eastern patrons, for this already had a long history, than in the purely Hellenic appearance of the final product.

Winckelmann, who in the eighteenth century formulated the modern view of stylistic development in Greek sculpture, recognized two Classical styles, each of which, in its own way, represents to him a supreme achievement. The second of the two – that of the fourth century – he termed the "beautiful" style. The artists of this time did not abandon the lessons of their High Classical predecessors, but rather, as he tells us, "sought to bring closer to nature those high beauties that in the statues of their great masters were like ideas abstracted from nature and forms modeled on a system, and in just this way they attained greater variety." In the treatment of anatomical forms the angularity of Polyclitus was replaced with the undulations of Lysippus, "who imitated nature more than his predecessors." The style is characterized by a grace that reveals itself in gesture, action, and movement. The images of the High Classical style, he says, are to those of the beautiful style as the works of Raphael to those of Guido Reni, or as Homeric heroes to living Athenians.

In the development of sculptural styles, therefore, the fourth century marks both a strong continuity with the fifth, in its focus on idealized representation and employment of traditional figural types, and a distinct break, marked by its more detailed exploration of the variability of nature and human experience. This revolution manifests itself in a variety of features – characterization of age, gender, and ethnicity; unbalanced poses and suggestion of motion with a bolder implication of three-dimensional forms; expression of emotion; and exploration of surface texture – flesh, hair and fabric – often at the expense of structural articulation. Similarly, Aristotle, the most learned, eloquent, and prolific representative of the fourth-century intellectual world view, set out to explore more than explain the universe, both physical and metaphysical, and to organize its astounding range and variety of phenomena into a more comprehensible system. As we have noted already, philosophers had long recognized the contrast between being and seeming, but it was only in Late Classical times that the latter was invested with as much authority as the former. Thus the artists of the time, as Lysippus says explicitly of himself, sought to explore and exploit the illusionary aspects of visual experience, rather than correct or suppress them, as Greek artists before them had done. Each of the characteristics of Late Classical sculpture listed above both assumes and demands a more active involvement of the viewer in the reciprocal processes of signification and interpretation. The fourth century is often termed the "age of the individual," and, just as each Greek citizen had increased opportunity to define his own identity through the religious, philosophical, and political choices he made, so too did the artists of the time seek to mobilize the shifting perspectives of these viewers and integrate them into art itself.

Temple Sculpture

Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus

The individual accomplishments of these Late Classical sculptors are a topic of the following chapter. We begin here with architectural sculpture – original works that both illustrate and amplify the general observations already offered. Yet even here, "great masters" will make more than an occasional appearance. One such is Timotheus, whose fame was sufficient that he was included by Pliny in his list of those who executed sculptures for the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (see below) around mid-century.

Literary sources provide very little further information about him, but his name occurs twice in the building accounts of the Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, for which he provided *typoi* and the acroteria over one pediment. Although it is tempting to interpret the former as a reference to models of some sort, we simply do not know what the word signifies here; it usually means “reliefs.” Moreover, there is no indication of which acroteria were commissioned to Timotheus. That the other sculptors mentioned were apparently less eminent than he has often led to the assumption that Timotheus designed the entire sculptural program, but in fact we do not know just what he or his workshop may have designed or carved.

The cult itself is a relatively new one, established only in the sixth century at Epidaurus, where it eclipsed the earlier cult of Asclepius’ father Apollo, although the latter received a new temple in the fourth century. Epidaurus’ was the most venerable and popular Asclepius cult on the mainland; it was brought to Athens only around 420 in the wake of the plague. The growing prominence of both the cult and this sanctuary in the fourth century surely reflects shifting attitudes toward religious activity and its aims.

Work on the temple is believed to have begun circa 375 and took just under five years to complete. Each gable of the small but ornate Doric temple had a full complement of marble pedimental sculptures and figural acroteria, both lateral and central. Pausanias tells us nothing about the temple itself, only describing its chryselephantine cult statue, but the remains are extensive and the subjects identifiable, and familiar. The east pediment bore an Iliupersis with, as at the Argive Heraeum, an archaistic Athena statue. Above this, the central acroterion shows the rape of Asclepius’ mother Coronis by Apollo, mimicking the sexual violence below and simultaneously reenacting the conception of Asclepius. The corner acroteria were winged figures, generally agreed to be Nikai, although their androgyny has led some to suggest Erotes. The west pediment shows an Amazonomachy, probably the same Trojan episode as included on the Bassae frieze, in which Asclepius’s sons, also healers, served among the Thessalian contingent and healed their countryman Philoctetes, thus permitting the Greek victory. Above this scene, the central acroterion is another Nike, reflecting the victory below; the lateral acroteria show healing breezes on horseback, reflecting the equestrian figure of Penthiseleia that dominates the pedimental composition. As at Bassae, the iconography is both generic and specific, both universal and local. It is drawn from the general Panhellenic repertoire, which can seem remarkably limited in the Classical era, but these stories, with their many characters, variations, and interpretations, can be pressed into service for more specific means and messages. The emphasis on the Trojan War, for example, could be taken as an Argolidic preference, as noted in the case of the Heraeum.

There is an immediacy, violence, and passion in the Iliupersis narrative that outstrips even the theatrical excesses of the Bassae frieze. In fact, the fourth-century stylistic traits that we have noted have been famously characterized as constituting an “anti-Classical” style, and the Epidaurus sculpture used to exemplify and illustrate the change. While the term itself has been criticized and not widely embraced, it nonetheless captures the revolutionary nature of the development. The Iliupersis pediment at the east end shows, as at the Heraeum, a figure taking refuge at an archaistic idol, a motif used for strong emotional effect also on the Bassae frieze and Parthenon metopes. It evokes the horror of armed conflict, and could elicit pathos for the victims, although this might be a modern reaction. Minimally it references the transgressions against the gods that occurred during the sack of Troy, as well as the inevitable consequences, all a large part of local ancient history. This same theme emerges from the group with the slaying of Priam, which forms a pendant in the opposite wing of the pediment (Figure 11.1). The hand of Neoptolemus is preserved, grasping the head of the old king. The latter’s face is contorted in an unprecedented expression of agony and despair. His fleshy forehead is deeply lined; his sunken eyes, their brows sharply arched toward the bridge of the nose, reflect his agony. In Hellenistic sculpture, we will call this dramatic style “baroque,” but these Epidaurian sculptures are two centuries older.

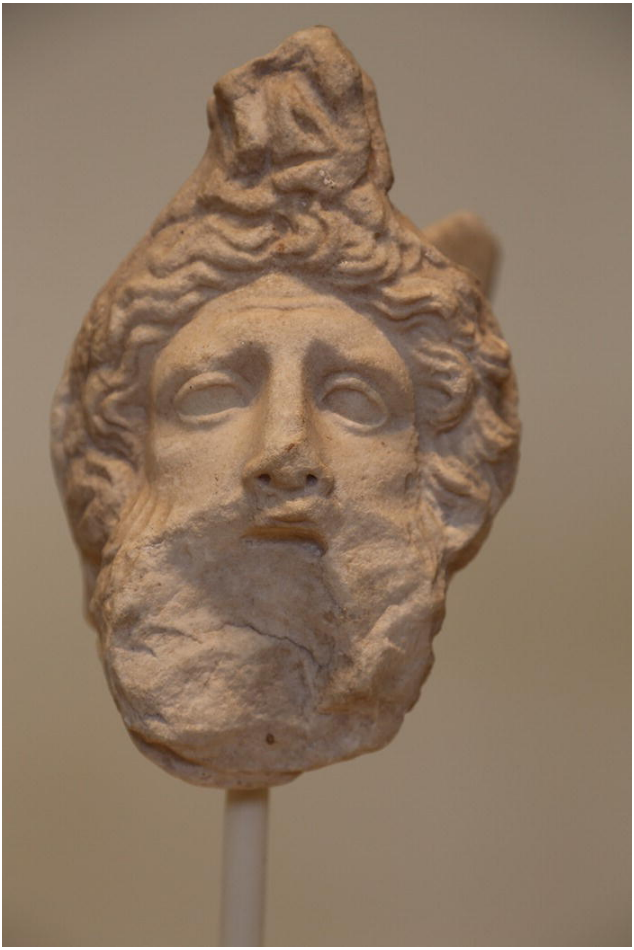


Figure 11.1 Epidaurus, Temple of Asclepius. East Pediment. Iliupersis. Head of Priam. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 144. Marble. Circa 375. H. 6″ (0.23 m).

Source: Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

The Amazonomachy pediment is dominated at center, oddly, by the Greeks' enemy – the Amazon queen Penthiseleia, whom we also encountered at Bassae (Figure 11.2). The traditional central deities are lacking on the Epidaurus pediments, as their epiphany shifts to the central acroteria above. This equestrian figural group is a tour de force, conceived in a tradition traceable through the Dexileos Stele (Figure 10.15) back to the later fifth century. The Amazon's pose is very close to that of the Attic hero on the cenotaph relief, although, as three-dimensional statuary, the twist in her waist is more natural. The pattern of modeling drapery over the right leg emphasizes the forward thrust of that leg, creating a compelling overall pattern of spiral torsion. Her kneeling adversary is a near mirror image of the corresponding figure on the relief, although again, less flattened, as befits the medium. This is by now a stock scene, as is, for example, the hair-pulling group in the right wing, which forms a relief-like eloquent outline. Other figures are similarly three dimensional, including contorted corpses and a dying Amazon falling forward off her mount. Throughout the pediments thin clinging drapery contrasts with deeply carved, more massive folds, which increasingly obscure, rather than reveal or outline, the bodily forms beneath. The deep carving and theatrical posturing are similar to those developed on the Bassae frieze although, without relief background, there is none of its wind-blown space-filling drapery.

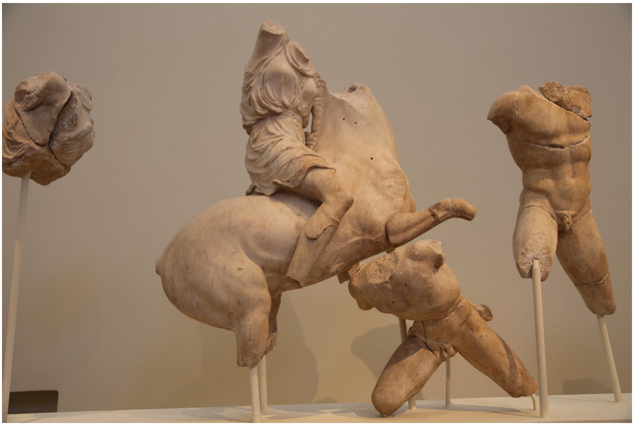


Figure 11.2 Epidaurus, Temple of Asclepius. West Pediment. Amazonomachy. Penthiseleia. Marble. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 136. Marble. Circa 375. H. 2′ 11″ (0.90 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence.

The sculptors of the acroteria felt no such constraint, and here one sees virtuoso and flamboyant drapery renderings in the tradition of the Nikai at Athens and Olympia. These figures, it has been noted, cost much more, per figure, than the pediments, they are higher quality work, and at least some were the output of Timotheus’ workshop. The central Nike at west is, in fact, a direct quote of Paeonius', with its left leg set forth and protruding from the open side of her peplos, the right conceivable through the diaphanous drapery (Figure 11.3). Yet the differences illustrate well the developments of the intervening decades. The Epidaurus Nike shifts her left knee over and in front of her right, while her right shoulder is thrust forward, creating spiral torsion, whereas the earlier statue is frontal. The animated pose is picked up in the drapery, which is more deeply carved over the body and hangs in pouches away from it, the resultant shadows outline form far more than do the folds themselves. Indeed, those over the right leg, which arch across and model the forms of Paeonius' statue, fall vertically on the Epidaurus Nike, essentially denying the curvature of the thigh. Finally, although both wear the peplos, on the earlier statue the breast is revealed, while on the later it is all but lost in a cascade of drapery elaborated for its own sake. The peplos on the Epidaurus Nike is also belted higher, creating a longer lower torso, and slenderer proportions. While better called Late Classical than anti-Classical, entirely new principles are now applied to the rendering of forms in space.

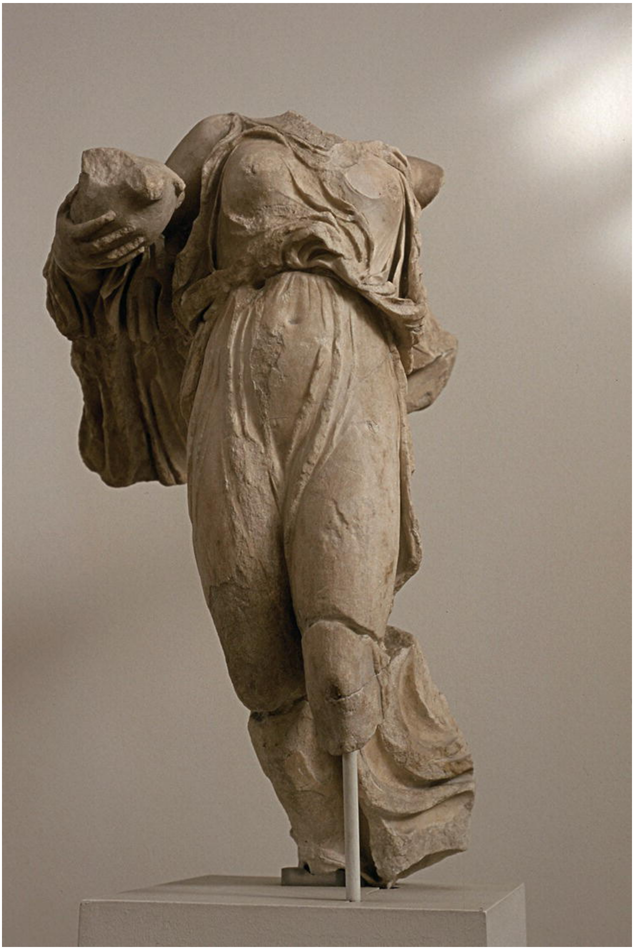


Figure 11.3 Epidaurus, Temple of Asclepius. West Central Acroterion. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 155. Marble. Circa 375. H. 2′ 9″ (0.85 m).

Source: Hervé Champollion/akg-images.

Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea

The programs of architectural sculpture at Epidaurus, Bassae, and the Argive Heraeum are the best known of several that were undertaken in the Peloponnese during and following the last stage of work on the Periclean program at Athens. These projects were distributed widely and thus document a diaspora of workmen trained in Athens, seeking their fortune where they may. Also in the first half of the fourth century, two highly ornate buildings were erected with a novel circular plan and enigmatic function. The **tholos** (*thymele*) at Epidaurus, adjacent to the new temple and begun soon after its completion, was one of the most intricately decorated structures of Classical Greece, yet it lacked representational sculpture. The Doric tholos at Delphi, earlier than its Epidaurian counterpart, bore 40 sculptured metopes above its peristyle and a smaller series crowning the cella's exterior wall. These are highly fragmentary, but sufficiently preserved to document a style comparable to that of the Asclepius temple and suggest an iconographic program (Amazonomachy and Centauromachy on the exterior, Heracles and Theseus on the interior) that here again strongly resonates with Classical Athens.

In the third quarter of the fourth century, two important Peloponnesian temples were built, each of which has a Doric peristyle and a cella interior articulated by superimposed Corinthian (below) and Ionic orders. The tendency toward mixed orders and interior elaboration, first emphasized at Bassae, is now a standard feature, and such fanciful arrangements of architectural forms may have rendered representational sculpture dispensable. The Temple of Zeus in his Panhellenic sanctuary at Nemea from around 330, for example, has no architectural sculpture whatsoever, and during the succeeding Hellenistic era, while public sculpture proliferates, temple sculpture is much rarer than before. The somewhat earlier Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea in Arcadia had its interior orders in engaged half-columns, opening up space within the cella and making the Archaic ivory cult statue seem anomalously small. According to Pausanias (8.45–46) this temple replaced an Archaic predecessor, which, as at Bassae, determined its archaizing elongated proportions. There is no further documentation of the date; the Archaic temple burned in 495, but technical and stylistic studies are now generally agreed that its replacement was finished circa 350–340. The cult itself was traced back to Aleus, founding king of Tegea. Its association with the origins of the city is reminiscent of Athens and Bassae, and Pausanias' detailed description of the temple's interior and contents recalls his treatment of the Erechtheum.

Pausanias adds that the East Pediment showed the hunt for the Calydonian Boar and the West held a battle between Telephus and Achilles by the Caikos River; as at Olympia, he names most of the figures. He does not mention the metopes, but those above the porches were sculptured, formed from separately carved figures dowelled onto the metope slabs, a technique similar to that of the Erechtheum frieze. Some subjects can be identified from names inscribed on the architrave below. Telephos and Auge are named on the west, so it is clear that the myths depicted on that façade were drawn from the most important local myth of Tegea. Auge was Aleus' daughter, predicted by the Delphic oracle to give birth to a son who would overthrow her father. Aleus appointed her virgin priestess of Athena, but she was seduced by Heracles and bore him a son, Telephus. Aleus attempted to kill both of them, either together or separately – there are variants in detail, but in each they both ended up in Mysia (northwest Asia Minor), where they were welcomed by the local king Teuthras, whom Telephos would succeed as king. Thereafter, he waged war with the Greeks on their way to Troy, was wounded by Achilles, and later reconciled with the Greeks, whom he directed to Troy. He declined to help the Greeks in their war, but would later return to Troy on the side of his father-in-law Priam. There are many further exploits, and he served as a primary hero of Arcadia just as his father did for the Dorian Peloponnese. The very local aspects of Telephos are therefore entwined with encounters that make him a more universal figure and situate him within the Trojan epic.

An inscription at the east end names the Cepheidae, who were grandchildren of Aleus, thus the scenes of all metopes were likely drawn from local tradition. The subject of the East Pediment is less obviously connected to the locality and cult, although some traditions have Atalanta as an Arcadian. The themes of hunting and rusticity are also Arcadian, and the hide and tusks of the boar itself were displayed in this temple, again like relics. Pausanias places the boar at the center, so it would seem that here, as at Epidaurus, the composition no longer centers on a deity. The heroes he catalogues range across the Greek world from Aetolia to Athens and Thessaly to Laconia. The thematic play between the local and the Panhellenic that was so carefully developed in the architectural sculpture of Classical Athens is reprised in these late Classical temples of the Peloponnesians, who bring a new repertoire of subjects and new twists on the traditional ones.

There are substantial remains (especially heads) from the pedimental sculptures and only small scraps of the metopes. Pausanias names as architect the sculptor Scopas of Paros, so he is presumed responsible for the overall plan and design of the sculptural program and the execution of at least some of it. Despite the many statue types attributed to Scopas, it is on the Tegea marbles that our conception of his style primarily depends (Figure 11.4). The heads are similar to those found on the earlier fourth-century temples, but their eyes are even more deeply set than on the Epidaurus Priam, especially at the inner corner. The eyeball tends to bulge, and the upper lid presses down from the arched brow. The deep shadows created imbue the face with feeling, but the forms are similar from head to head and the emotion depicted is non-specific, made explicit (fear, pain, longing) only from context. The deeper setting of the eyes was prompted not only by the desire for melodrama, but also to coordinate the cranial structure and facial features into a three-dimensionally coherent whole. This feature is commonly termed “Scopaic,” but it is actually just a version of a developing fourth-century sculptural *koine*. If the Tegea heads were of Scopas’ design, he would seem to have had his own version, marked by their decidedly compact shape. The structure is cubic, the necks are thick, and the hairstyles and helmets cling tightly to the cranial surface. The forms and their effect, however, seem to have been popular, and the style is widely followed at the time. Bodies and drapery are less well represented, essentially limited to two fragmentary draped females thought to be acroteria, although it is not certain that the temple was equipped with them. While the better preserved of these is not winged and so almost certainly not a Nike, her pose and style do recall the victory figures of Paeonius and the Epidaurus temple. She is more deeply carved even than the latter, with more bunching of drapery. These sculptures are stylistically later than those from the Epidaurus temple, but how much later? As it happens, Scopas is said to have worked on the great tomb for Mausolus, Satrap of Caria, which was erected over several years before and after 350. While it was long debated whether Scopas worked at Tegea before or after his Asiatic sojourn, the consensus now favors the latter, with the work probably completed by about

340.

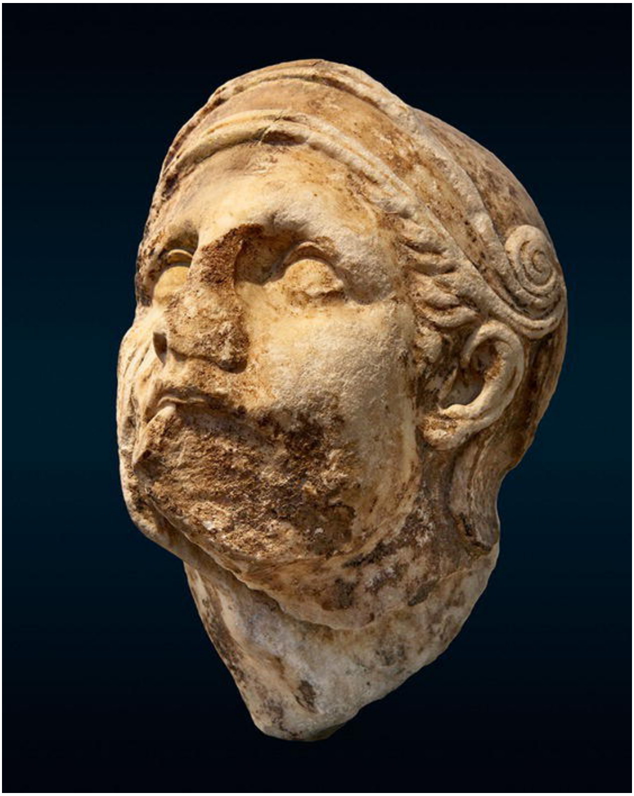


Figure 11.4 Tegea, Temple of Athena Alea. Head from pediment. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Marble. Circa 340. H. 1′ 1″ (0.326 m).

Source: © Erin Babnik/Alamy.

Temple of Apollo at Delphi

The Alcmaeonid temple of Apollo at Delphi was destroyed in the great earthquake of 373; like it, the replacement was long in building and had two sculptured pediments, which Pausanias (X.3) attributes to the Athenian sculptors Praxias and Androsthenes; still more extensive Athenian involvement in the program has been postulated for iconographic reasons. The former built the East Pediment, which, again like its Archaic predecessor, focused on

Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, here in the company of Muses. The latter sculptor is credited with the Back Pediment, which has an entirely different scene from the limestone Gigantomachy of the earlier temple – Dionysus with maenads. At first surprising, this juxtaposition parallels a general Late Classical assimilation between the two deities, in myth and cult as in imagery.

The compositions, as reconstructed plausibly from Pausanias' brief description and fragmentary remains in Pentelic marble, differ from the violent and dramatic mood of most other Late Classical pediments. Instead, the quiet, frontally posed gods and attendants recall the East Pediment of the Archaic temple. The composition is itself perhaps a form of archaism, reprising the epiphanic aspect of earlier pediments that was largely abandoned in the early fourth century. The central figure of Dionysus from the west, somewhat over human scale, is by far the best-preserved figure from the pediments. He is presented as a youthful, Apolline, god rather than the bearded mature figure of earlier times (Figure 11.5). There may also be here an indication of an increase in status for Dionysus, not traditionally an Olympian, whose cult was ever more popular in the religious environment of the fourth century, as individuals sought their own spiritual path. His garment reflects that of Apollo as citharode, in which guise the latter was likely shown on the east, together with his Muses. Dionysus is covered by a mass of enveloping drapery with a richly textured surface, showing the sculptor's interest in the physical nature, rather than the descriptive function, of clothing. His face is soft, the cranial structure recedes behind the surface of his fleshy cheeks and forehead, and the eyes are deeply set and generically expressive, as at Tegea. These pediments were most likely completed around or a little after 330, a date for which there is epigraphical evidence as well.

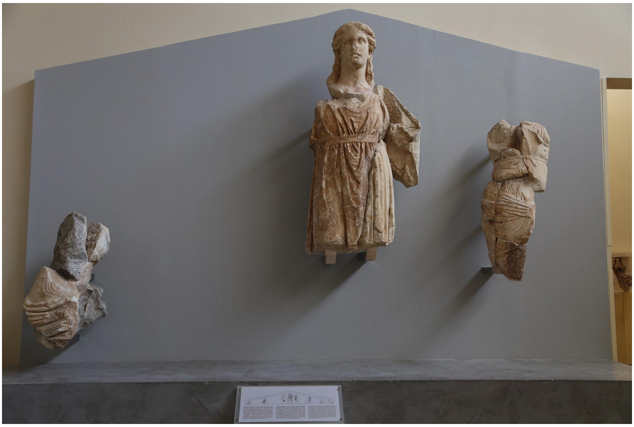


Figure 11.5 Delphi, Temple of Apollo. West Pediment. Dionysus and maenad. Marble. Circa 330. H. (of Dionysus) 4′ 11″ (1.5 m).

Source: Delphi, Archaeological Museum.

Temple of Artemis at Ephesus

At this same time, work was being carried out at Ephesus on a replacement for the giant temple of Artemis, destroyed by fire in 356. When Alexander passed through in 334, he saw the temple in ruins and offered to pay for its replacement. The Ephesians refused, although the project was daunting; the new temple would be just as ornate and larger still than the Archaic colossus and was ultimately included in Hellenistic lists of the seven wonders of the world. Thus the work continued for quite some time and the sculptures might be seen as transitional from Late Classical to Hellenistic. As at Delphi, the earlier temple served as an approximate model for the later one, so the primary sculptured remains consist also of carved column drums; there are, in addition, cubic pedestals with relief decoration. Pliny claims that one of the sculptured columns was the work of Scopas, and many of the figures do have deeply set eyes, but the style and the effect is a common fourth-century feature, not the hallmark of an individual artist.

The best-preserved drum has six figures preserved entire or in part (Figure 11.6). The central male is Hermes, with his herald’s wand (**caduceus**), acting as **psychopompus** (conductor of souls), since the winged male figure leading the group should be Thanatos (death), although other identifications have been proposed. The identity of the heavily draped female figure between them, who is being led off to the land of the deceased, is less obvious. The most popular suggestions are Alcestis and Iphigenia, both of whom were the subject of Euripidean tragedies; the latter, of course, has the most direct connection to Artemis. Of the two nude males, the god is slender but athletic in build, his musculature rendered in detail, but with smooth rather than linear transitions, as is typical of the era. His weight rests strongly on the right leg; his hips slant sharply, suggesting a strong lean that gives the body its sinuous form. His head is compact but lacks the blocky "Scopaic" form of the Tegea figures; deeply set eyes complement his enigmatic skyward gaze. The more androgynous Thanatos rests also on his right leg, although his body is more upright, creating a sense of arrested motion reinforced by his beckoning left hand. He also has deeply set eyes and a somewhat languid expression, but his face, as well as his body, is softer and fleshier than that of Hermes, and the triangular form of his forehead, most often a feature of female or effeminate figures such as Eros, differs from Hermes' more rectangular brow. The draped figure between them is enveloped in great quantities of fabric, projecting with volume and obscuring the body. Surfaces of both mantle and underlying chiton are extensively textured. The style, overall, seems later than that of the Tegea marbles and probably belongs toward the end of the century. These features continue well into the Hellenistic era, however, so it is not at all certain how late some of the sculptures might have been carved. Hereafter, architectural sculpture takes on quite different forms in both location and subject matter; the great narrative programs become a thing of the past, only occasionally revived. The Ephesus building was the last great temple project of the Classical period; like Alexander himself, it ushers in a new era.

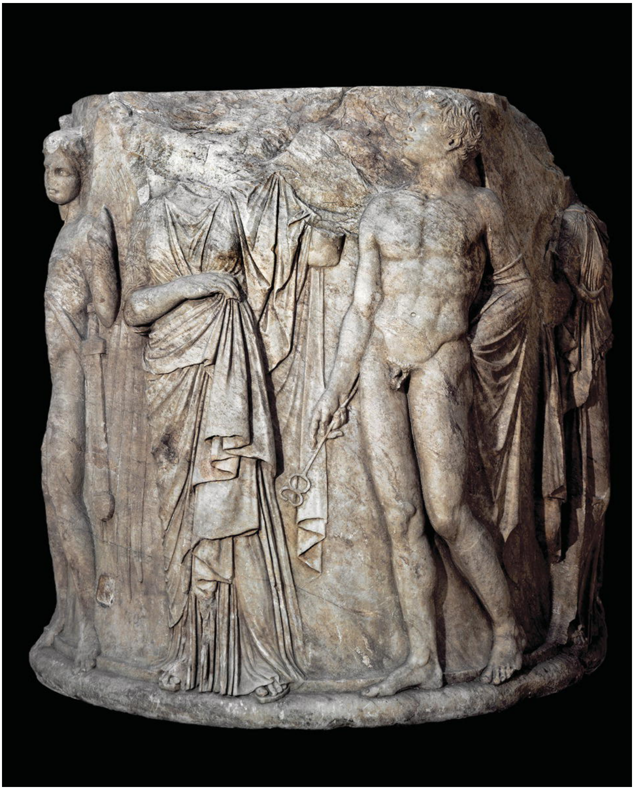


Figure 11.6 Ephesus, Temple of Artemis. Column drum. London, British Museum. Marble. Circa 330–300. H. 6′ (1.82 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

Nereid Monument at Xanthus

At this same time, monumental funerary structures, rivaling temples in scale and narrative complexity, were built in southwest Asia Minor for local dynasts who ruled on behalf of the Great King but increasingly assumed the trappings of monarchy themselves. Ionian sculptors had been finding work as far east as Persia since the late Archaic period, and some of the sculptors working on these commissions, starting toward the end of the Peloponnesian War, were surely Greek as well. In at least one case, the Mausoleum (below), it is certain that they were. Projects were declining in number and scale on the mainland and all but non-existent in Ionia, and the philhellenic tastes of the Asiatic rulers prompted an insatiable desire for products of Greek masters, anticipating a pattern of patronage that comes to define the succeeding Hellenistic era.

The oldest tradition was in Lycia, where already in the fifth century there were rock-cut tombs with architectural facades, freestanding sculptured sarcophagi, and colonnaded funerary structures. The Lycians were no strangers to Greek culture, being members of the Delian League during much the time of Pericles, after whom one of these dynasts was named. His early-fourth-century tomb/heroon at Limyra openly quotes the Erechtheum south porch, complete with caryatids and rosette-studded architrave. The grandest of the Lycian tombs, however, was the Nereid Monument at Xanthus. It was probably built by the local dynast Erbbina (d. circa 370) during his reign to serve as both a monument to his achievements and, prospectively, his terminal resting place. Egyptian pharaohs before him, and Roman emperors after, did much the same thing. The building is therefore contemporary with the Epidaurus temple, and, while it displays a similar dependency on Attic styles, the Lycian tomb remains in many ways decidedly non-Greek. The debt to Greece is especially evident in the eponymous statues of richly draped Nereids (sea nymphs), who glide across the waves, framed by the columns of the temple-like structure’s 4 × 6 Ionic peristyle (Figure 11.7). Despite the Greek order, the resemblance of the tomb to any real Greek temple is fleeting. The colonnade rests on a high podium, such elevation being part of the local idiom, and it supports an anomalous sculptured architrave. Two more bands of relief adorn the podium, a sculptured frieze crowns the exterior of the tomb chamber wall, both pediments contain figural relief, and atop these were figured acroteria. A hybrid of Greek, local, and Persian traditions, the entire structure was cut from marble, rather than the local limestone.

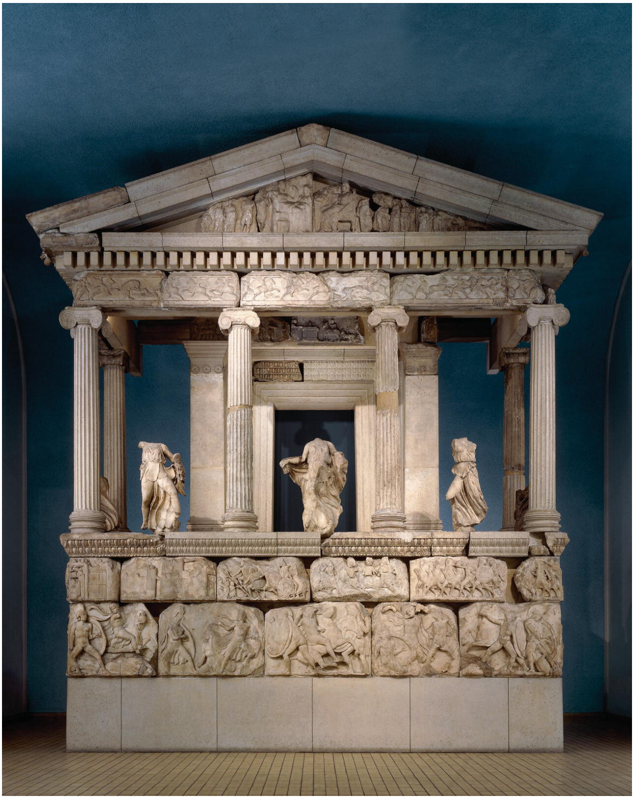


Figure 11.7 Nereid Monument, from Xanthus, Lycia. London, British Museum. Marble. Circa 380–370. H. 26′ 6″ (8.07 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

Near Eastern traditions lay behind the battle scenes, especially the city sieges on the upper podium relief, which recall the historical scenes of Neo-Assyrian orthostate reliefs and similarly emphasize the importance of military campaigning for the establishment and maintenance of order (Figure 11.8). These spatially complex compositions seem decidedly un-Hellenic, although something of the effect may have been found on Classical mural painting. Embedded between the city scenes are individual battles between figures on the scale of the battlements themselves (an indifference to scale seen also on Assyrian reliefs) as well as processions of subjects displaying obeisance to the ruler, a millennia-old motif that figures large in the sculptural programs of Persian palaces. A second, somewhat taller, band of relief just below this one is entirely different in style. Here we see heroic battle groupings conceived in the Hellenic figural repertoire represented by the Nike Temple and Bassae friezes, including Tyrannicide-type poses, warriors helping fallen comrades, and flamboyantly blowing drapery (Figure 11.9). The subjects of the battles are obscure. Many figures are shown in Greek heroic semi-nudity, while many other are draped in oriental garments, both Lycian and Persian, yet there is no consistency in who fights or assists whom, so the sides are not clearly drawn. Heroic conflict itself might be all that was intended. The remainder of the sculptured friezes, which are generally more Near Eastern in style, with repetitive, widely spaced figures against a blank background, draw on the repertoire of eastern monarchic iconography – battles, hunts, processions, banquets, sacrifices. The dynast himself is enthroned in the center of one pediment, and probably shown in an equestrian conquest (à la Dexileos) on the other, reaffirming that, whatever the details of the stories shown on the tomb, he was himself its primary subject. This is a focus on the individual of a very different sort than that found in democratic, or even oligarchic, Greece, but, with the rise of Philip and the legacy of Alexander, it is one that will come to dominate the Mediterranean.

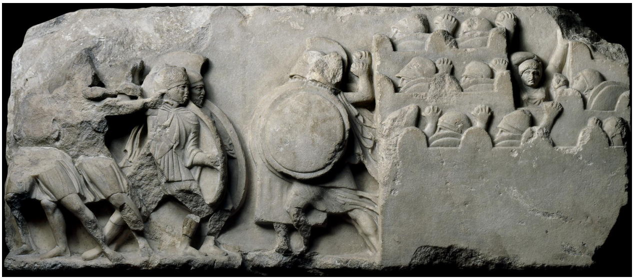


Figure 11.8 Nereid Monument, from Xanthus, Lycia. City siege relief. London, British Museum. Marble. 380–370. H. 3′ 7″ (1.1 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

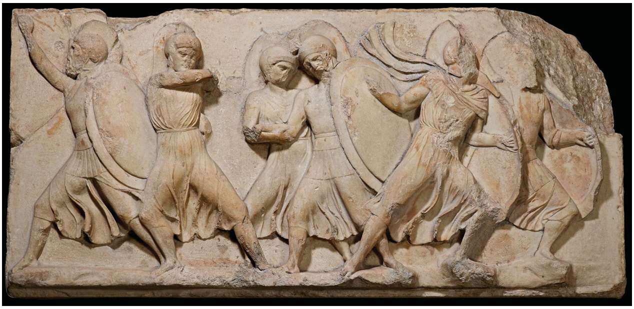


Figure 11.9 Nereid Monument, from Xanthus, Lycia. Battle relief (Greek style). London, British Museum. Marble. 380–370. H. 3′ 4″ (1.01 m).

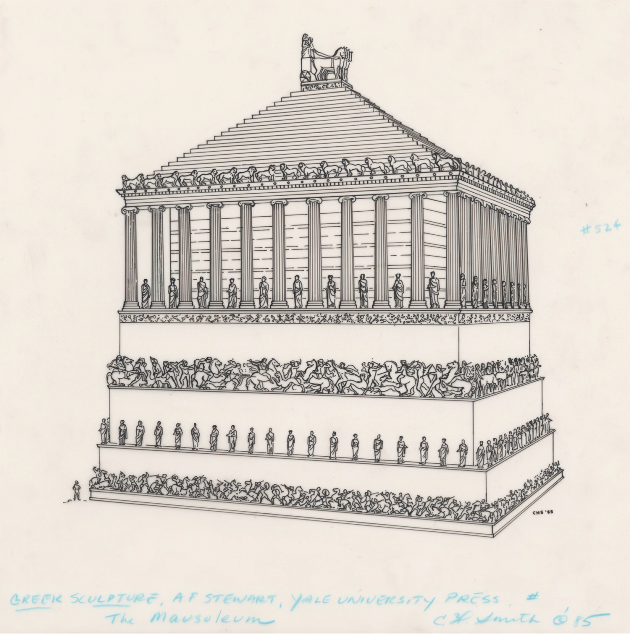
Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

Mausoleum at Halicarnassus

The greatest of ancient sculptured tombs, another of the seven wonders of the world, and the building that would give the name "mausoleum" to all monumental funerary structures thereafter, was put up about a generation later than the Nereid Monument, not in Lycia but to the northwest in bordering Caria. Another dynast ruling on behalf of Persia, Mausolus established himself as a virtual king in the second quarter of the century. His power extended into Lycia and many neighboring (and even remote) Greek city-states. His outlook was distinctly Mediterranean, and, whether from his personal philhellenism or because of the obvious strategic advantages it offered, Mausolus moved his capital from inland Mylasa to the Greek port town of Halicarnassus. His plan for the newly enlarged city centered on a prominent square, above and adjacent to the Agora and dominated by his own tomb building, which would have shone forth to any ship entering the cavea-like harbor. Pliny (*NH* 36.30–31) states that the tomb was built by his wife/sister Artemisia only after Mausolus' death in 353, but it was certainly begun already in his lifetime, being so clearly integrated into a city plan laid out by circa 360. Tradition holds that it was finished not long after the queen's death in 351. Pliny also provides the names of the sculptors: Pythis, who constructed the chariot group on top, and Scopas, Timotheus, Bryaxis, and Leochares, attributing one side of the monument to each. Vitruvius (7.praef.12–13) adds that its architects were Pytheus (the same as the sculptor?) and Satyrus, who wrote a treatise on it, and he includes Praxiteles among the sculptors, doubting Timotheus' involvement.

Vitruvius says little about the tomb itself, but Pliny's description is unusually detailed. It was rectangular, 440 feet in circumference and 140 feet in total height. There was a peristyle of 36 columns supporting a pyramid (atop which was the chariot group) and, it is implied a podium beneath, equal in height to the pyramid. From Pliny's description alone the influence of Lycian tomb/heroon structures is patent, especially in the elevation and Ionic peristyle. The Mausoleum, however, was set up prominently in a public space rather than a necropolis and thus it more strongly invokes the Greek cults to founder/heroes, such as that of Theseus in Athens, which was also located in or around an agora.

A plethora of differing reconstructions have been put forth over the years, prompted by the nineteenth-century British work at the site that resulted as well in most of the extant sculptures being housed in the British Museum. During the past half century intensive examination of the architectural plan has resulted in new, but still varying, conceptions of what Mausolus' tomb looked like (Figure 11.10). The high podium beneath the peristyle was probably a stepped construction providing ledges for the display of freestanding statuary. Statuary was also placed not only, as on the Nereid Monument, between the columns of the 9 × 11 peristyle, but also along the roofline, on the pyramid steps, and of course, as Pliny tells, at the peak of the building. There are carved coffers in the pteroma (Theseus and Heracles?) and sculptured friezes of three different subjects – Amazonomachy (with Heracles), Centauromachy, and a chariot race; the first is placed at the top of the podium, the second around the base of the chariot group, and the third crowned the walls of the tomb chamber, on either its exterior or interior. These friezes, especially the Amazonomachy, are the best preserved and most widely known of the Mausoleum sculptures, but remains of statuary are substantial, if highly fragmentary. Subjects include procession, hunt, and battle scenes on the podium ledges, standing draped portrait figures, of which two are preserved nearly intact, located between the columns (and perhaps elsewhere), lions on the pyramidal roof, and possibly figural corner acroteria. We do not know if Pythis' colossal rooftop chariot was occupied, but fragments of it, including the horses, survive.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The Mausoleum
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Figure 11.10 Halicarnassus, Mausoleum. Reconstruction. Circa 350.

Source: Stewart, A., *Greek Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1990).

Not monarchs *per se*, since they ruled at the pleasure of the Great King, the Hecatomnids were a dynasty of married brothers and sisters with familial lines of succession, as characterizes oriental monarchy. As at Xanthus, this iconographic program suits the function of the building as the resting place and heroon of an eastern dynast who drew on traditions of Near Eastern kingship. Here these are blended with the more openly Hellenic mythological friezes, but the latter element is much stronger, even more in style than subject matter. The Xanthian tomb, as we noted, is a strongly Hellenizing Asiatic monument. The Mausoleum, whatever the veracity of the roster of sculptors handed down by Vitruvius and Pliny, is a work in Greek style throughout.

Stylistic comparisons are, not surprisingly, with mainland works of the earlier fourth century – especially Epidaurus, although there is a foretaste of Scopas' slightly later accomplishments at Tegea. His involvement, like that of Timotheus, is not difficult to accept; what Leochares (and Praxiteles?) may have brought to the table becomes clearer as we discuss those masters below. Given its preservation, and the popularity of its subject, the Amazonomachy frieze offers the best opportunity for comparison, although as a secondary decorative element it is the least likely to bear any trace of a master's hand. Figural types and groupings from the High Classical repertoire continue to be adopted and adapted here and given new life with more elongated, even elegant, proportions, more complex and supple surfaces, whether flesh or cloth, and, especially, more experimental torsional and three-dimensional pictorial effects. Figures in a tripartite group of Greeks slaying a fallen Amazon, for example, reprise once more the Tyrannicides, as well as many later battle groups; their companion to the right continues the now familiar hair-pulling motif (1006; Figure 11.11).

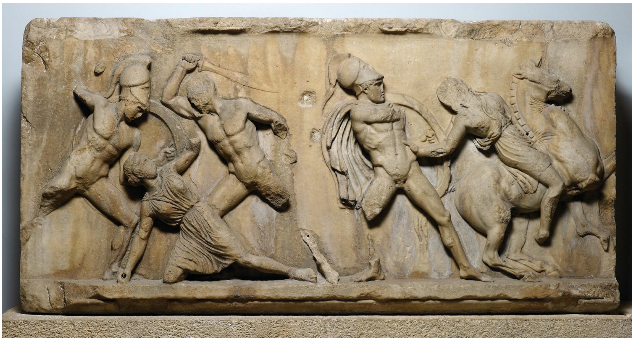


Figure 11.11 Halicarnassus, Mausoleum. Amazonomachy Frieze Slab 1006. London, British Museum. Marble. Circa 350. H. 2′ 11″ (0.90 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

Compared with Bassae, or for that matter the Nereid Monument, what strikes the viewer is the large expanse of blank background against which each figure presents its crisp silhouette – a hieroglyph drawn from a now familiar set of pictograms. The frieze is not tall (under a meter) and probably 50 or more feet in the air, but especially with added paint the narrative is legible, and more so because of the running drill used to enhance the outline – a new use of shadow to describe form. Fluttering drapery is not absent but lacks its earlier flamboyance, its use now limited to indicating rapid motion. However, drama is omnipresent: eyes are deeply set although heads are not obviously “Scopaic,” figures stride vigorously with their elongated limbs, lending tension, for example, to both the traditional “Harmodius blow” of an Amazon and the parallel diagonal of her recoiling adversary (1015; Figure 11.12). Nor is the spacious background impermeable, and complex, innovative poses are attempted; on this same block an Amazon rides backwards(!) on her horse, her torsion recalling Penthiseleia from Epidaurus. The relief is quite high, foreground limbs often carved free from the stone, and many figures are shown fully from behind, striding or thrusting into the background plane.

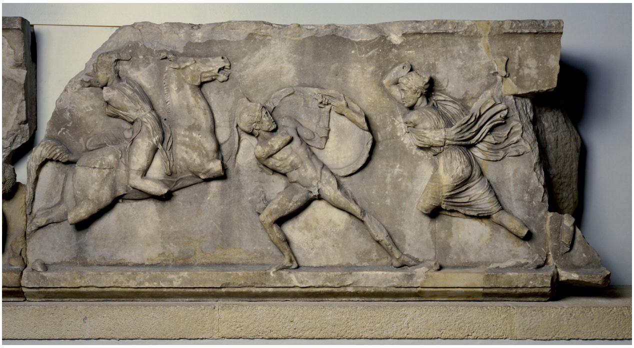


Figure 11.12 Halicarnassus, Mausoleum, Amazonomachy Frieze Slab 1015. London, British Museum. Marble. Circa 350. H. 2′ 11″ (0.90 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

The style of the statuary is throughout consistent with mainland Greek work of the time; one idealized head, called Apollo, recalls the Dionysus from Delphi, although it is a superior work. Yet there are definitely local details used especially in the portraits to characterize the subjects as Asiatic. Most illustrative are the two large, well-preserved statues long taken to be portraits of the royal couple, but now more commonly seen as ancestor portraits (Figure 11.13). Their different scales suggests to some that they were not part of the same group, but just as likely it simply reflects gender difference; both are colossal, being approximately nine and ten feet tall. Both stand in a relatively stable contrapposto, the male being more animated with his lifted heel, the woman more static. Each is massively draped in a mantle wrapped over an underlying tunic. The drapery itself is typically fourth century with linear patterns in the overgarment, deeply carved into projecting volumes of cloth, that diagram the pose without modeling the underlying forms. Especially on the male figure, texturing of the surface is evident, including the increasingly popular “press folds” – lines created by the folding and unfolding of cloth. The face of the female figure is missing, but other Mausoleum heads with similar Oriental(izing) snail-shell curls (perhaps a genuine Hekatomnid headdress, adopting Persian forms) would suggest a very smooth and expressionless treatment with heavy, almost classicizing features. As also on contemporary sculpture in Greece, the male head bears a more articulated facial surface, especially across the forehead with its prominent ridge. He seems portrait-like, but the face is in fact quite idealized. Its deviations from Hellenic work are limited to his short-cropped beard and long flowing mane of untamed hair – markers of his Asiatic ethnicity. This is often put forth as the first true, “realistic” Greek portrait, but it is simply characterization.

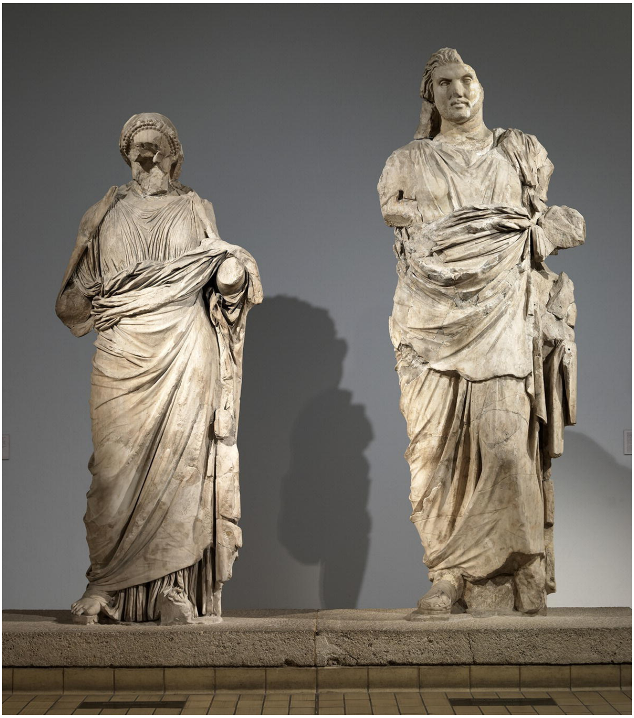


Figure 11.13 Halicarnassus, Mausoleum, ancestor portraits. “Artemisia and Mausolus.” London, British Museum 1001, 1000. Marble. Circa 350. H. 8′ 10″, 9′ 10″ (2.7 m, 3.0 m).

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

Finally, what of the names provided by Pliny and Vitruvius? The latter identifies a Pytheus as architect of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene in southern Ionia, not far from the sphere of Hecatomnid Caria, erected somewhat later than the Mausoleum. The sculpture on this building was limited to the coffer lids of the pteroma, and affinities between these figures and those on the Mausoleum friezes have caused some to postulate that it was Pytheus, not the other masters, who designed the friezes, carved by nameless stone-carvers, as on the Erechtheum. This seems likely, as does the assumption that these named sculptors, if they actually worked at Halicarnassus, oversaw the design and carving of the freestanding sculptures, comprising hundreds of figures ranging from life-size to colossal in scale. As for Satyrus, his name is recorded at Delphi as sculptor of a portrait group of Idraeus and

Ada, siblings and successors to Mausolus and Artemisia. It is tempting then to credit him with the extensive program of portraiture, of which the spectacular pair in London gives but a glimpse.

The Mausoleum is then an especially conspicuous example of a growing fourth-century phenomenon – the increased prominence of the “great masters” in the sources and traditions concerning Greek sculpture. In the “era of the individual” and an age of stylistic variety, as with the increasing personal accounts of sculptors preserved in our sources, it is natural to look more closely for particular artists’ styles and thus no surprise that our impressions of the period have been structured in this way. It is as much an issue of historiography as history, and its impact is so great that it is strongly felt even in the relatively anonymous craft of architectural sculpture, as we have seen here. Yet it is primarily freestanding sculpture with which these sources are concerned, and therefore it is to this medium that we must now turn.

12

Idealism and Individuality II: Late Classical Statuary and Relief Sculpture (circa 390–330)

Although the qualities identified by Winckelmann as distinctive of his “beautiful” style were illustrated in the previous chapter through original, largely datable, architectural works, the works from which he developed his scheme consisted of freestanding statuary and reliefs, or, more precisely, Roman versions of them. Classical architectural sculpture was little known in the West before Elgin’s plunder was put on display. Throughout the Classical era (as before), the styles of architectural and freestanding sculpture progressed hand in hand, although the “named” masters of the fifth century were never explicitly associated with architectural sculpture, aside from cult statues. Phidias’ involvement in the Periclean building program, based solely on an offhand comment by Plutarch, is not corroborated by other evidence, and the sculptors’ names in the Erechtheum accounts do not recur in any literary source. In the succeeding century, as we have seen, sculptors are documented by both literary and epigraphical evidence as designers and executors of architectural sculpture, and many of them are also mentioned as casters and carvers of statuary. In fact, artists’ names are recorded for most of the architectural sculpture projects considered here – Timotheus, Hectoridas, and Thrasymedes at Epidaurus; Praxias and Androsthenes at Delphi; Scopas on three different buildings, he and Timotheus partnering on the Mausoleum with Bryaxis, Leochares, and perhaps Praxiteles.

Clearly the traditions concerning fourth-century sculpture were structured, far more than before, on the idea of the individual artist – not a surprising development since this era has already been characterized, on several grounds, as the age of the individual. Many artists emerge as distinct personalities; the increasingly anecdotal information about them was not limited to artistic training, output, and outlook, but extended to such personal matters as models and mistresses. In a time when varying, contemporary styles were emerging to fulfill different roles in an increasingly heterogeneous Greek society, it is tempting indeed to associate not only works, but also styles and stylistic schools, with these famous names, yet the evidence is both difficult and incomplete. Nor is this an idle question. Those who detect the birth of western art in the achievements of ancient Greece consider not just the fact of stylistic development, but the explanations for it, whether culturally determined by historical forces or the creation of sequential innovative artistic geniuses (see box). Nowhere does the argument come more to the fore than in the study of the great masters of the fourth century. We begin by surveying the evidence for individual sculptural styles, against which we examine anonymous original statues and reliefs, in both bronze and marble.

Box The Role of the Sculptor

This chapter closes our account of Archaic and Classical sculpture, which has focused throughout on both tracing and explaining its stylistic development over time. In traditional attempts to accomplish the latter, two fundamental approaches can be distinguished, locating the primary agent of change either in the creative genius of individual sculptors or in the formative power of the cultural dynamics within which these artists worked.

Early attempts adhered to the former approach, organizing the subject according to a number of “great masters,” providing attributions, analyses, and illustrative, sometimes amusing, anecdotes. Working in the generation following Alexander, these sculptor/scholars were predisposed to viewing history in terms of outstanding individuals, as were the later Roman writers who used them, e.g., Pliny, Plutarch, Cicero, and Quintilian.

Winckelmann was deeply versed in these ancient sources and knew well the artists’ names, yet his explanations of stylistic change were based more in general historical phenomena, probably owing to the nature of his material evidence. Few Greek originals were known to him, nor was the phenomenon of the Roman copy. When methods and priorities changed in the nineteenth century, artists again become the primary organizing criteria and, consequently, agents of change (cf. Chapter 8). The rise of socially oriented, including Marxist, histories and structuralist linguistics in the twentieth century, with the so-called "death of the author," brought about revisionist views of Greek sculpture as well. Rhys Carpenter's influential monograph of a half century ago argued compellingly that Greek sculpture should be treated as "the anonymous product of an impersonal craft." His view has been adopted by many scholars, who are classified as revisionist by those who consider reports of the death of the sculptor to be premature.

Beyond the theoretical trends of the past century, issues specific to the study of Greek sculpture also open it up to revisionist readings. Greek literary sources say little that is evaluative about the arts of their own time, suggesting that they did not much think about the spectacular sculptures around them as art. If mentioned at all, sculptors were considered simple artisans and their mimetic objectives menial. The reconstruction of Classical originals, their attribution to individual sculptors, and thus the establishment of an artist's oeuvre are all highly problematic. The literary sources that do exist for individual artists are only rarely concerned with style *per se*, and the works themselves suggest that a set of stylistic features were used commonly by many artisans in a particular era. On the other hand, it is difficult to maintain that sculptors had nothing to do with the development of their craft. Some certainly theorized about their work, wrote treatises on defining principles, and created "canons," patently expecting others to follow their lead. Some consciously reacted to the traditions they inherited, both positively and negatively, in deliberate and creative ways.

Are the two positions, in fact, mutually exclusive? The contextual explanations offered in this book recognize sculpture as one especially visual manifestation of an evolving set of communal values reflected also in history, epic and lyric poetry, tragedy, and comedy, to which one could also add music and dance. That there was a muse assigned to each of these arts suggests ancient acknowledgement of divine inspiration, what we might call creative genius, in its pursuit. It is often noted that the visual arts had no such muse, although later writers, at least, recognized something very similar in Phidian *phantasia*. After all, neither philosophy nor rhetoric was allotted a muse either, perhaps because genius in these "practical" arts was considered more human than divine, but genius nonetheless.

Sculptors

Cephisodotus

Pliny lists two Athenian sculptors with this name; since the second was the son of Praxiteles, it assumed that the earlier was his father. Pliny places him around 372, his best-known work was probably set up soon after 375, and he erected statues at Megalopolis, the pan-Arcadian capital founded in 371. His *floruit* should then correspond with work on the Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus. Pausanias mentions work by him in Pentelic marble, but Pliny mentions him only among bronze sculptors; he likely worked in both materials, as his son would also do. The subjects of his attributions are limited to deities and personifications; the only one that can be envisioned with any certainty belongs to the latter category. Soon after an important military victory in 375, the Athenians established a cult of Eirene (peace) and erected her statue, holding an infant Plutus (wealth), on the Areopagus. This was of course the eponymous meeting site of the council of ex-archons, which was of more traditional than actual political importance by Periclean times but which also enjoyed an Archaizing revival, and expanded powers, in the fourth century. One wonders if there was any irony intended in erecting a personification of peace on the hill of Ares as a result of an act of war; it surely suggests the idea of warfare as a means to peace, generally symptomatic of a society weary of armed conflict. An image fitting the description is found on Panathenaic amphorae datable to 360 and recurs on Roman coins of Athens. If this is Cephisodotus' Eirene, we have both a *terminus ante quem* and an identifiable replica series.

The type shows a peplophoros resting her weight on the left leg, the right foot placed lightly on the ground and set to the side (Figure 12.1). The drapery is voluminous, covering the underlying body more than revealing it, describing the pose by means more diagrammatic than diaphanous. She looks toward Plutus, whom she holds braced against her left hip in maternal fashion, and who returns her gaze, gesturing back toward her with an uplifted right arm. Coins show a scepter in the right hand and a **cornucopia** in the left, both supporting and reinforcing the concept of Plutus. She resembles the matronly peplophoroi of the High Classical, especially Procne, of whom she must be considered the exact thematic opposite and whose high drama now gives way to soft sentimentality. There results a humanized quality, despite the idealized classicism of her face and the entirely closed composition, which excludes rather than involves the viewer. The contrast is no doubt deliberate and illustrates the increasingly self-conscious manner in which artists are developing intellectualized relationships between sculpture and audience.

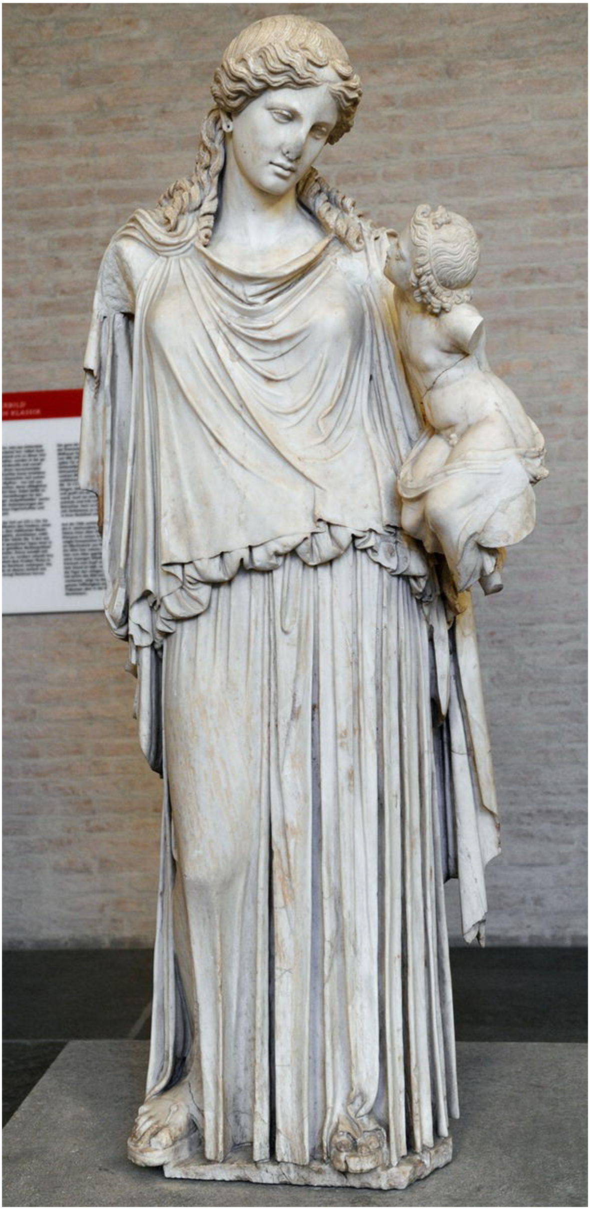


Figure 12.1 Cephisodotus. Eirene and Plutus. Marble copy of bronze in Athens. Munich, Glyptothek 219. Circa 370. H. 6′ 7″ (2.01 m)

Source: © Prisma Archivo/Alamy.

Praxiteles

Among Cephisodotus’ bronze works Pliny (*NH* 34.87) lists a “Hermes nursing the infant Dionysus,” which one might imagine to have been similar to Eirene, with a nude male god substituted for the draped goddess. Pausanias (5.17.3), in the temple of Hera at Olympia, notes a “Hermes in stone, carrying the infant Dionysus, the ‘*techne*’ of Praxiteles.” In 1877, excavators unearthed an over life-size marble statue that accords with Pausanias’ account in both subject and location (Figure 12.2). “*Techne*” most often means “craft,” “style,” or “skill;” less often, it can mean “work of art,” although Pausanias does seem to use it in this sense elsewhere. The pedestal on which it stood is preserved, and it bears no signature, so Pausanias was doubtless working either from information provided by a guide, or from his own connoisseurship. As for the statue itself, whatever Cephisodotus’ version looked like, this Hermes recalls the Eirene in composition and mood, but differs in one significant way. The god here rests his weight on his right, not his left, leg while still holding the baby in his left arm and looking in that direction. There results a distinctly off-balance pose that deliberately violates a central principle of High Classical statuary. The relationship is reinforced by the position of the legs, which recalls without reiterating the Polyclitan scheme, apparently (both legs are restored from below the knee) modifying the position of the free leg in order to receive the weight of the upper torso. While sculptors accepted and followed the schemes of Polyclitus and Phidias for a generation or two, entirely new ways of thinking about statuary, space, and spectatorship were now coming to the fore.

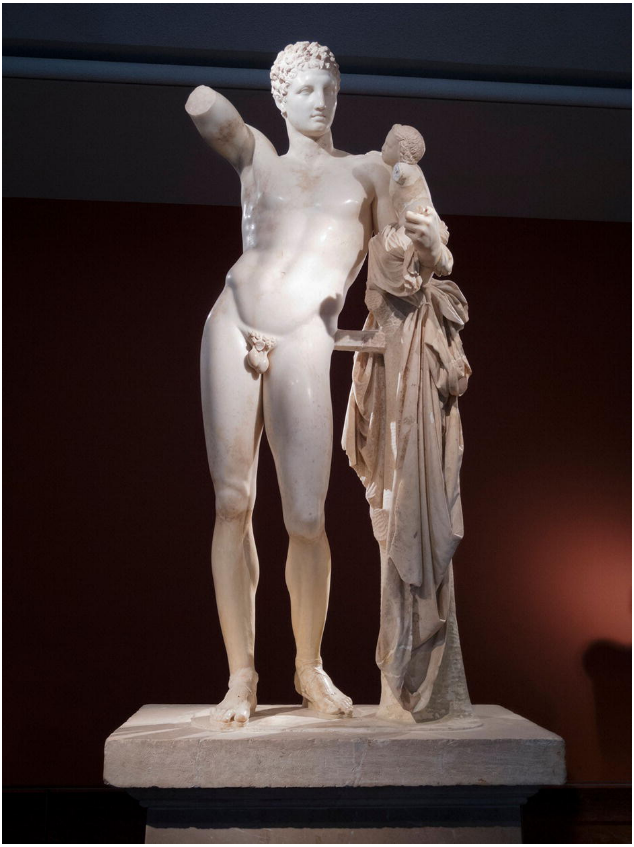


Figure 12.2 Hermes and infant Dionysus. Olympia, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Third/Second Century? H. 7′ 1″ (2.15 m).

Source: © Raymond Wijngaard/Alamy.

The stylistic features are now familiar from our examination of architectural sculptures. Hermes here is an athletic god, but the transitions from muscle to muscle are smooth rather than linear. The surface of the face is complex and articulated, with delicate proportions, soft lips and chin, deeply set eyes, and a pronounced brow. The drapery is voluminous and textured. The characterization of maturity as distinct from childhood, and an implicit levity in the relationship between the two gods, is consistent with the humanizing trends of the Late Classical era. The Olympia Hermes, in fact, is one of the most enlightening illustrations of the stylistic features typical of this period, but is it, as Pausanias suggests, a work of Praxiteles? Objections arose early and have not disappeared. The gap between the body and the tree trunk support, necessitating the strut at the hip, are what we expect from Roman copies of bronzes. The two leaning figures in the fourth-century marble Daochus group (see on Lysippus below), for example, similarly use drapery-covered supports, but the figures lean directly against them. Moreover, the back of the Hermes is only roughly finished, and certain tool marks belong to a type of chisel thought to have been introduced later. Pausanias' comment could be construed to mean that the statue was in the style of rather than a work by Praxiteles, which is atypical of his comments on statuary, but so is his wording here. The quality of work seems very high for a Roman copy, but later works in Greek marble and of Greek manufacture, such as the Delos Diadumenus, are comparable. The argument that the sandal type and the form of the pedestal are best paralleled on Hellenistic and later works has inclined most to accept such a date for the Hermes, but it is not at all agreed how much later and whether it is a "true" copy, a variant, or even a Classicizing "original" of Hellenistic or Roman date. The general type, with variants, can be seen in paintings, coins, and statuary of Roman times, and it may well be that these follow another work of the fourth century, perhaps Cephisodotus' bronze. It remains unknown whether that statue was as different from his Eirene as is the Olympia version, and thus to whom the innovation should be credited. The Olympia Hermes is probably from the second century, when many copies and classicizing works were created in response to rising Roman demand (see Chapter 14).

Praxiteles' most discussed work was very different, although also in marble. According to Pliny (*NH* 36.20), he made two statues of Aphrodite, and the Coans, who were given first choice between them, opted for a draped statue. The other, which was unclothed, was purchased by the Cnidians, fortunately for them, since "with that statue Praxiteles made Cnidus famous." This odd anecdote suggests that there may have been something special, perhaps even somewhat non-Greek, about the Cnidians of the Asiatic coast. The Near Eastern connections of this coastal sanctuary, known to have been frequented by sailors (her epithet here is Euploia, "fair sailing"), are suggested by the discovery there of many votives to

Astarte, conventionally shown undraped and traditionally associated with prostitution, sacred or otherwise. Indeed, the last sculptures of nude goddesses we encountered, on Crete in the seventh century (cf. Chapter 1), also represented a blend of Greek and Levantine traditions, and so highly sexualized a presentation of Aphrodite befits a similar syncretism.

No doubt owing to the apparent novelty of its nudity, and perhaps also its possibly lascivious associations, Praxiteles' Aphrodite became, literally, the stuff of legends. The most often repeated tells of the man who was so seized by amorous passion for the statue that he hid overnight in the temple and left behind a stain as a sign of his desire. Like Myron's cow, its lifelikeness was celebrated in epigram, and numerous authors cite its extraordinary beauty. The sculptor's own lover Phryne, some say, was its model, and she, like her alter ego, brazenly unrobed and bathed "in view of all the Greeks." We sense the tremendous impact of this divine image, the beauty of which seems of a different sort from that of the chryselephantine colossoi of Phidias. Rather than their dignified, epiphanic other-worldliness, Praxiteles' work had a physical, highly sexualized, and deeply human beauty, one that implicated its viewer in ways similar to, but far beyond, the effect of the Eirene and Hermes.

The image occurs on Roman coins of Cnidus, which help identify its Roman replica series from among the many that show a similar subject. The version on the coins has Aphrodite standing entirely undraped, dropping her garment from her left hand onto a water vessel (*hydria*) (Figure 12.3). While Amazons, Niobids, and the female victims of rowdy centaurs were often depicted partially undraped, Olympian goddesses had not been shown in the nude, as noted already, for over two centuries. This novelty, which helps to explain the notoriety of the statue, also demands a narrative explanation – here that the goddess is at the bath. Nonetheless, the composition (and the later tradition concerning it) is decidedly voyeuristic, and, recalling the myth of Actaeum, for example, would result in some uneasiness on the part of the viewer. Yet this version remains aloof; she does not confront the observer but stares into the distance, or as some have it, at an approaching lover – Ares. She does not cover herself but lets go of her cloak, unconcerned with what anyone might see. The Olympian is thus at once more humanized and more distant, reflecting the increasing Late Classical interest in contrast and inconsistency. Or so it seems; it has been argued that the accepted copy series derives not from Praxiteles' statue but from a later variant (the hydria is Hellenistic in form), and that the original more clearly responded to the viewer's presence than is conventionally thought. Some support might be found in the coins, which seem to show the goddess snatching up rather than dropping her mantle. The artist has in either case designed an image of the goddess that captures her primary essence – not just the legendary beauty, but her sexuality and fertility as well.

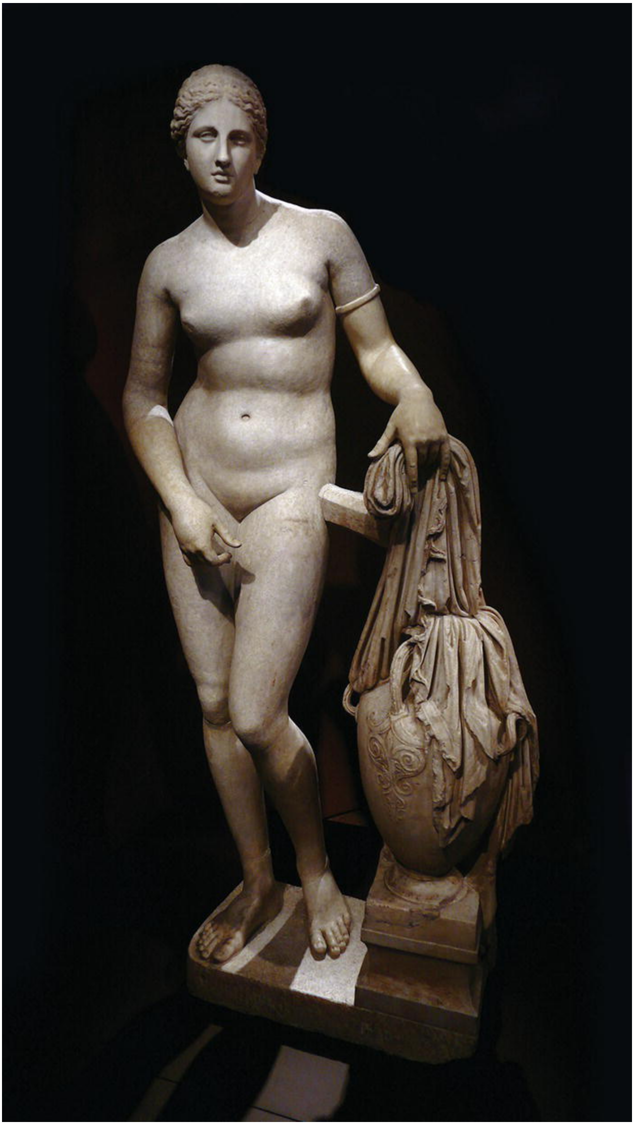


Figure 12.3 Praxiteles. Aphrodite of Cnidus. Marble copy of marble original. Vatican Museums 812. Circa 350. H. 6′ 9″ (2.05 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

She stands on her right leg, her left foot retracted, raised on its toes and canted slightly outward. In a subtle but distinct variation from High Classical stances, the free leg is not simply displaced but pivots from the hip to place the left knee partially in front of the right, like the Nike acroterion from Epidaurus, but more emphatically. Consequently the slant of her hips is exaggerated, strongly outthrust at the right, forming the lower part of an S-curve that continues upward as her upper body, with lowered right shoulder and turned head, curves back to her left. This curve is similar to, if less exaggerated than, the sinuous axis of the Hermes, with which she also shares an unbalanced pose, owing to her reaching and turning to her free leg side. She also has similarly delicate features and small head in proportion to her height. Moreover, the opposed motion of the left knee and right shoulder creates a subtle spiral torsion that contrasts with the frontality produced by the outstretched arm and recalls Pliny's comment that the statue was meant to be seen from all around. The "shock of the new" of the goddess's nudity was clearly what led to its renown, but looking beyond the conspicuous reveals less obvious, and more important, innovations and deviations from the High Classical. Its impact on the later figural tradition for this goddess is incalculable.

An exceptionally detailed description of a Praxitelean work, in this respect rivaling Lucian's account of Myron's Discobolus, is Pliny's account (*NH* 34.70; tr. Pollitt 1990) of a bronze "Apollo who, close at hand, is lying in wait with an arrow for a lizard which is creeping up, for which reason they call him the "Serpent-Slayer" (*Sauroktonos*). There are several Roman versions on coins as well as statuary (Figure 12.4), bronze and marble, large and small, and they are quite consistent in form. A recently discovered full-size bronze may have been cast in a fourth-century workshop after Praxiteles' model. A boyish rather than youthful nude male leans with his left arm against a tree trunk, up which the lizard slithers; in the god's right hand was an arrow. His weight is all but entirely on his right leg; the toes of his left foot barely touch the ground and are set rather behind the right. Were the trunk to disappear, the boy would likely fall over – an exaggerated version of the newly fashionable leaning poses. Also exaggerated is the slenderness of the figure, the delicacy of his features, his undeveloped musculature, and effeminate hairstyle.

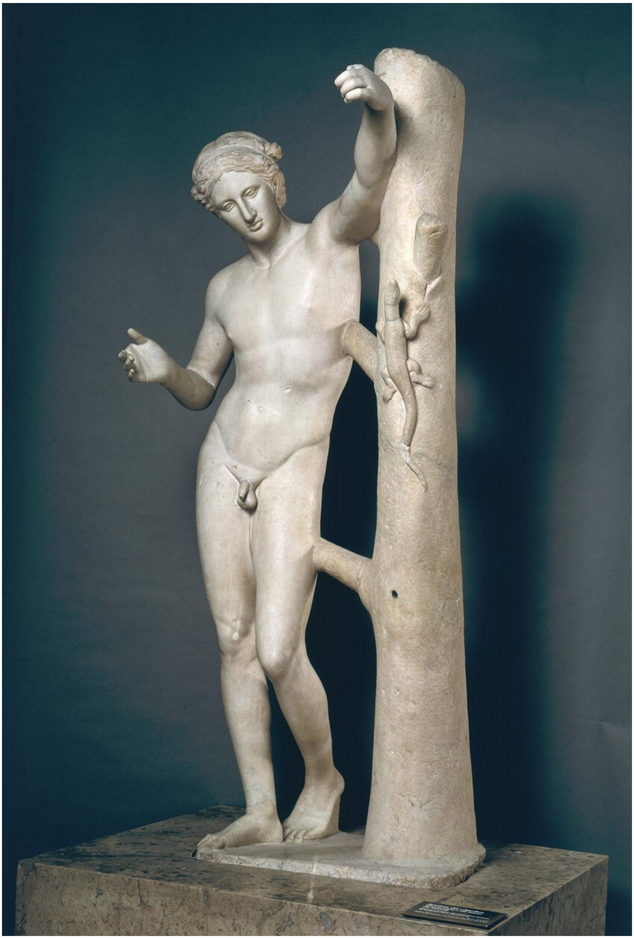


Figure 12.4 Praxiteles. Sauroctonus. Marble copy of bronze original. Paris, Louvre MA 441. Circa 350. H. 4′ 11″ (1.49 m).

Source: Roman/Louvre, Paris, France/Peter Willi/Bridgeman Images.

As in contemporary architectural sculpture, Praxiteles strives to invoke personal feelings in his statues, for example, the brotherly tenderness of the Hermes, or the eroticism of the Cnidia. Pliny (*NH* 34.70) specifically notes this feature, citing his weeping matron and smiling courtesan, perhaps Phryne herself. In addition to the sensuousness of this Apollo, one detects a sense of humor, even ironic parody. Apollo, who claimed his oracle and sanctuary by slaying the Python, is reduced here to a mere boy engaged in the idle and (for a mortal at least) futile endeavor of skewering a shifty little lizard with his favorite weapon. The evolving styles of the time were ever more suited to this form of characterization. The gods had long been conceived in the image of man, but in earlier times the gulf between mortality and divinity was great. While the realms were still of course separate in the fourth century, the relationship was in the process of reevaluation, or at least active contemplation.

Many other works by Praxiteles are mentioned in the sources without description, among them at least three images of Eros as well as other Apollos and a number of satyrs. The Roman copy tradition has preserved numerous types with these subjects and what we take to be Praxitelean features; there is scarcely an ancient sculpture collection in the world without a leaning satyr or Eros – such was the appeal and impact of the fourth-century innovations in subject, mood, and style that we associate with Praxiteles' name – but attribution of any is pure speculation.

Other Attic Masters

Of the Mausoleum sculptors, in addition to Praxiteles (a possible participant), Bryaxis is known to have been from Athens and Leochares probably was as well. The works of both are highly praised but remain phantoms. The former worked for the Macedonian **Diadochoi** (followers) who came to power following Alexander's death in 323, so his long career spanned the late Classical and Hellenistic eras. His colossal Serapis at Alexandria might be reflected in the many extant versions of that Greco-Egyptian god, but there is no certainty. His portrait of Seleucus may not be that reflected by coin portraits that begin around 305, since Lysippus is explicitly said, also by Pliny, to have represented him as king. Seleucid as well was his Apollo at Daphne (near Antioch), legendary for both its beauty and verisimilitude. It is shown on late Roman coins of Antioch, forming the reverse type of an issue with the Tyche of Antioch (Figure 13.9) on the obverse.

Leochares also won important commissions from powerful

Macedonians, most conspicuously for the family portraits in the round family monument ("Philippeum") erected by Philip II and, as collaborator with Lysippus, for a bronze statue group of Alexander's hunt at Delphi. Both are discussed further in the next chapter. Pliny (*NH* 34.79) praises him for his group of Ganymede with the eagle, who is "aware of just what he is abducting in Ganymede, and for whom he carries him, and which therefore refrains from injuring the boy with its claws, even through the clothing." Despite the detail, to identify the statue in Roman versions is guesswork, although one notes again the naturalistic detail that ancient writers attributed to fourth-century masters. Similarly, Demetrius of Alopeke (Attica), was famous for portraits, one showing the aged priestess Lysimache, likely a characterization, and another of the Corinthian general Pellichus, described by Lucian (*Philopseudes* 18) as having "a pot belly, a bald head…, and with his veins showing clearly, just like the man himself."

Euphranor, who worked and no doubt lived in Athens, was not a Mausoleum master, but Pliny considered him without rival as both sculptor and painter and identified him as the author of treatises on both arts. Pausanias (1.3.4) names him as the sculptor of the Apollo Patroos statue in his Agora temple; a large part of the body of that colossal sculpture remains (Figure 12.5). He stands quietly, as befits a temple statue, draped in a tunic belted over a long overfold; originally he must have been a citharode, since fragments of the instrument were found. The drapery is massive and concealing, its surfaces tracked with texturing and press folds, much like the great "Mausolus" and the Ephesian column figures. It is likely from the second half of the century.

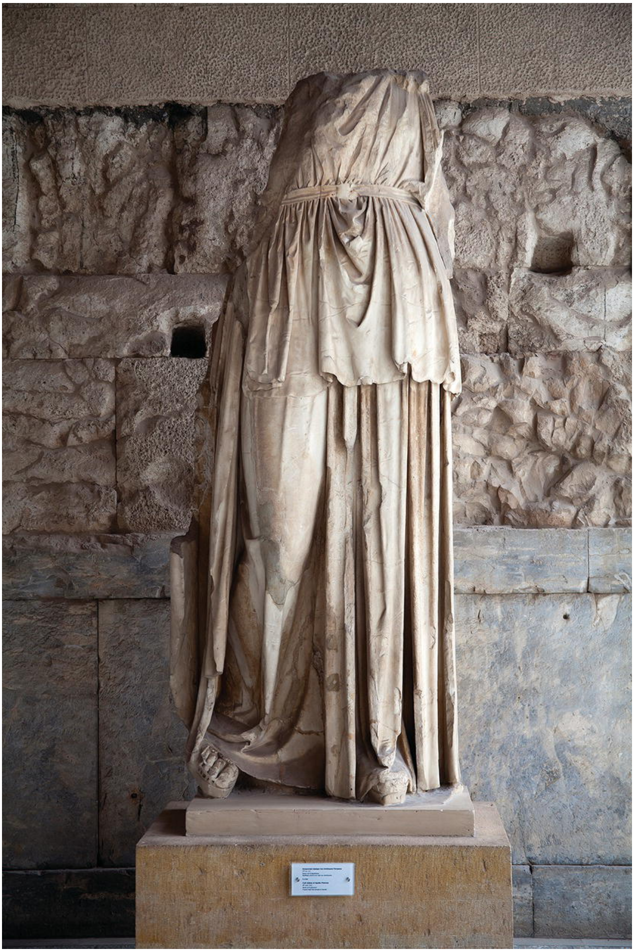


Figure 12.5 Euphranor. Apollo Patroos. Athens, Agora Museum. S2154. Marble. Circa 340. H. 8′ 4″ (2.54 m).

Source: Athens, Agora Museum. Photostock/Konstantinos Kontos.

Scopas

We have had occasion to consider the possible architectural works of Scopas, but he is known to have been a renowned maker of statues as well. The Tegea temple, the Mausoleum, and the Artemisium date just before mid-century or in the decades following. The style of the Tegea sculptures follows that of the mid-fourth century generally, although many see the peculiar blocky quality of the heads as specifically Scopaic. On this basis, many fourth-century types have been associated with this sculptor purely on the basis of style, and many of his works mentioned in literary sources have been connected with extant Roman marbles. As with Praxiteles, the style we associate with Scopas was enormously popular in later times, used in this case to convey the drama and passion of mythological figures and scenes. Therefore, the Classicizing sculptors of late Hellenistic and Roman times had every motivation to create statues and types that employed stylistic devices that we associate with each of these artists. The fact that Pliny, who saw many original works by both sculptors in Rome, was unable to say whether a group of marble Niobids was by Scopas or Praxiteles underscores the challenge of attribution (*NH* 36.28).

Scopas made many statues of gods and goddesses, including cult statues, and was sometimes associated with Phidias and Praxiteles as a sculptor of gods. These images, no doubt, had a characteristically Classical dignity and reserve, but the subjects listed for many of his other statues suggest his skill at conveying emotion. There survive two florid descriptions of his marble maenad; one is an epigram by Glaucus (*AnthGr* 9.774), the other a rhetorical exercise by Callistratus (*Eikones* 22); both date to the late Empire. Each emphasizes the skill with which he transformed the stone into a “living” Bacchante, through his portrayal of animation, divine possession, and even her frenzied cry. A statue in Dresden seems to fit the description, the time, and even the artist (Figure 12.6). The violent spiral torsion captures the tone of the statue described, as do the long wildly flowing locks of hair, which Callistratus mentions specifically. Her head is blocky, as at Tegea, her eyes deeply set with fleshy overhanging lids. While her upper torso is demurely covered, her left leg and hip emerge from the drapery, outlined by a shadow created by a thick section of cloth, not unlike the Tegea acroterion. This is not part of a replica series, and single copies are methodologically problematic, but the identification is attractive. It also might help us envision the marble Furies he carved for Athens, mentioned in at least two ancient sources. Another of his works was a personification of emotion itself. Pliny (*NH* 36.25) mentions his group of Aphrodite and Pothos (yearning) at Samothrace. This group effectively made explicit what was implicit in Praxiteles' Cnidia by personifying the viewer's reaction in physical form. Indeed, the statue type widely identified with this work is strikingly similar to Praxiteles' Sauroctonus, with which it shares its androgynous physiognomy, exaggerated lean, and feminine hairstyle. The eyes and strong spiral torsion are found in works associated with Scopas.

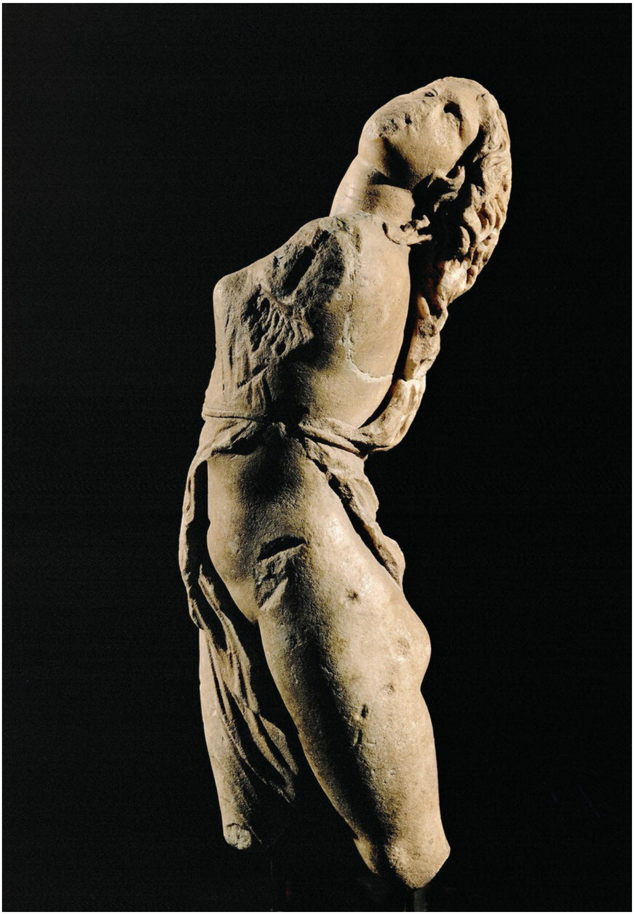


Figure 12.6 Maenad. Marble copy of Classical original circa 340 or Classicizing work in Scopaic style. Dresden, Antikensammlung 133. H. 1′ 6″ (0.45 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

Lysippus

The sculptors discussed to this point were from Athens and the Cyclades. In the Peloponnese, the tradition of Polyclitus carried on well beyond his lifetime through his many students and later followers, the greatest of whom was Lysippus of Sicyon. The unusually extensive sources on Lysippus comment not simply on his works and style, but also on his own view of his craft and his sources of inspiration. There is epigraphical and literary evidence that he made victor statues as early as the 360s, while Pliny places him around 328, which accords with his reputed status as court portraitist to Alexander; he was still active two decades later if he made a portrait of Seleucus as king. That his career may have spanned half a century explains Pliny’s statement that he made more statues than any other artist (1500). This figure is plausible if, as master sculptor, he only made the models from which others cast bronzes, perhaps adding finishing touches himself. He originally trained as a foundry worker and worked exclusively in bronze.

Pliny’s unusually extensive account (*NH* 34.61–65) cobbles together isolated comments from various sources that add up to a complex, seemingly contradictory, but nonetheless revealing picture. His decision to become an artist was prompted by the painter Eupompus’ comment that one ought to imitate nature itself, not another artist; Lysippus is later alleged to have said that, while earlier artists made men as they were, he made them as they appear to be. Consistent with the artistic goals of the fourth century, Lysippus was simultaneously concerned with naturalism and illusionism, concepts that might seem distinct but which were in his hands complementary. Similarly paradoxical is his relationship to Polyclitan tradition. From Pliny we hear that his approach was perceptual (unlike Polyclitus’ highly intellectualized canon), he was not a follower of any other artist, and he altered the “square” appearance of earlier sculptors (contrapposto). At the same time he is said to have observed *symmetria* with great care (as had Polyclitus) and, in another source, to have claimed the Doryphorus as his only master. Since his work can be seen to have deviated from, and even deliberately rejected, the example of Polyclitus, one could conclude that the Doryphorus was a negative model, but in fact Lysippus was aiming to accomplish much the same thing as his predecessor, although in keeping with new, Late Classical, artistic aspirations. Lysippus *was* a canonical artist in that he introduced, or at least exemplified, many of the characteristic genres and features of Hellenistic sculpture, including royal portraiture, extremes of scale (both colossal and tiny) for dramatic effects, complex allegory, and strongly three-dimensional compositions. His activities as the "inventor," as it were, of Hellenistic sculpture will be considered in the next chapter; here we consider just two attributions that represent his craft as a culmination of the Classical.

Pliny's long account begins with the "youth scraping himself with a strigil (*Apoxyomenos*)" that stood outside the Baths of Agrippa in Rome. Although Pliny proceeds to relate a scurrilous anecdote about the emperor Tiberius' passion for the statue, he tells us nothing more about its appearance. The subject was not uncommon in Greek art, including more than one Late Classical statue type, but it is generally, although not universally, agreed that the one illustrated here preserves Lysippus' work (Figure 12.7). It displays the features attributed to him by Pliny, and seen already in fourth-century architectural sculpture – small head, detailed rendering of hair, slender proportions, and subtle surface fluctuations in the rendering of musculature. As in Praxitelean work, Lysippus' athlete looks away from the weight leg, creating an uneasy lack of balance, but here the effect is more understated than in the exaggerated lean of the Hermes or the Sauroctonus. Each part of the figure plays a role. The legs at first glance seem traditionally contrappostal, but the free leg is more emphatically displaced, although the foot is more nearly flat, than that of the Doryphorus. Unusually, the foot of the weight leg does not face straight forward but is turned sharply to the side; the angle between the feet is exceptionally wide so that neither the figure nor the viewer is fixed in space.

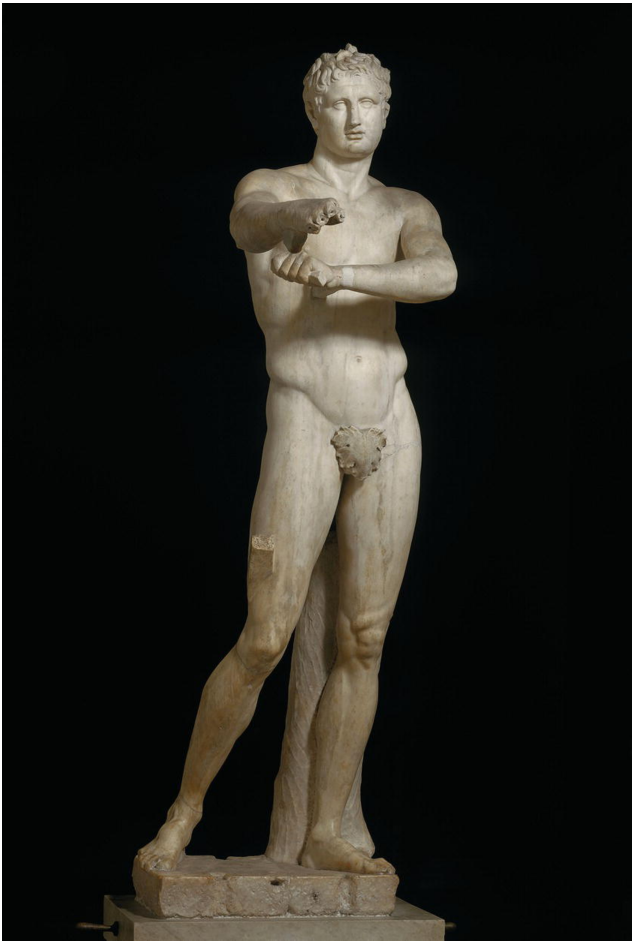


Figure 12.7 Lysippus. Apoxyomenus. Roman copy of bronze original. Vatican, Vatican Museums. Circa 330. H. 6′ 9″ (2.05 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence.

The curve of the torso draws the eye immediately to the weight-bearing hip, which is prominently thrust forward by the backward movement of the other leg, and the muscles at that point bulge accordingly. The outstretched right arm more or less parallels the figure’s gaze, while the left, holding the strigil, reaches across the chest and touches the scraper to the underside of the opposite arm. What we have, in effect, is not one system of weight-bearing elements but two, the first created by the torso curving into the conspicuous left hip, and the other created by the head, shoulders, and arms, all of which the right leg is braced to support. The composition has two distinct illusory effects on the viewer. The first creates its innovative three-dimensionality; when the strigil is visible, the right arm is foreshortened; if the viewer shifts to see the outstretched arm, the action is obscured. Therefore the figure does not simply penetrate the frontal plane, it inhabits space in a way that forces the viewer to move around it. As Pliny said, he altered the "square" (probably "frontal," echoing Varro's assessment of Polyclitus' statues) quality of earlier sculptors. The second illusory effect actually animates the statue by constructing a pose that is not simply momentary but impossible, as is immediately evident to any who attempt to reenact it. As the viewer instinctively reconciles the inherently contradictory weight-bearing systems, the eye moves up and down the body, perpetually re-enacting the scraping motion, like a stationary automaton. The verb used for scraping (*xyo*) is used also for sculpting; one wonders if this highly intellectual sculptor was punning here, as his statue continually recreates itself.

The other statue was actually carved in the fourth century, but, since it is marble, it is at best a reflection of Lysippus' work and not from his hand or his foundry. A wealthy and powerful Thessalian named Daochus erected at Delphi, presumably during his term on the Amphictyonic Council in the mid-330s, a group of marble statues on a long base. Inscriptions identify them as portraits of the dedicator, his son, and six of his ancestors, at least three of whom had been victors in the Pythian Games. The group not only associates Daochus and his son with their honored and accomplished genealogy, but also implies a pseudo-royal lineage for a man whose power was local and limited, overshadowed by that of the Macedonian king. The figures are idealized types rather than true portraits; indeed, most of the subjects were already long dead. As a group they represent, as rare original Classical works, some current possibilities for the rendering of the male figure. Some are contrappostal, some show a Praxitelean lean, and others display an uneasy animation like Lysippus' Apoxyomenus. In the last category is the image of the **pancratiast** Agias, great-grandfather of Daochus (Figure 12.8). The inscription associated with this statue is a virtual copy of one cut on a base signed by Lysippus and found at Pharsalus in Thessaly. It is therefore widely assumed that the marble in Delphi is a free reproduction of a bronze by the famous master. Its facial features and anatomy display the common fourth-century features already identified in both statuary and architectural sculpture, and the work is, on the whole, not extraordinary. His pose, with its slight turn to the free-leg side, does reveal a desire to break from the contrappostal tradition, and does so in a way that anticipates the more dramatic illusionism of the Apoxyomenus. It could reproduce an early work of Lysippus, but the entire group is more valuable still as an illustration of both the stylistic possibilities of the time and the challenge in attributing them to individual artists.

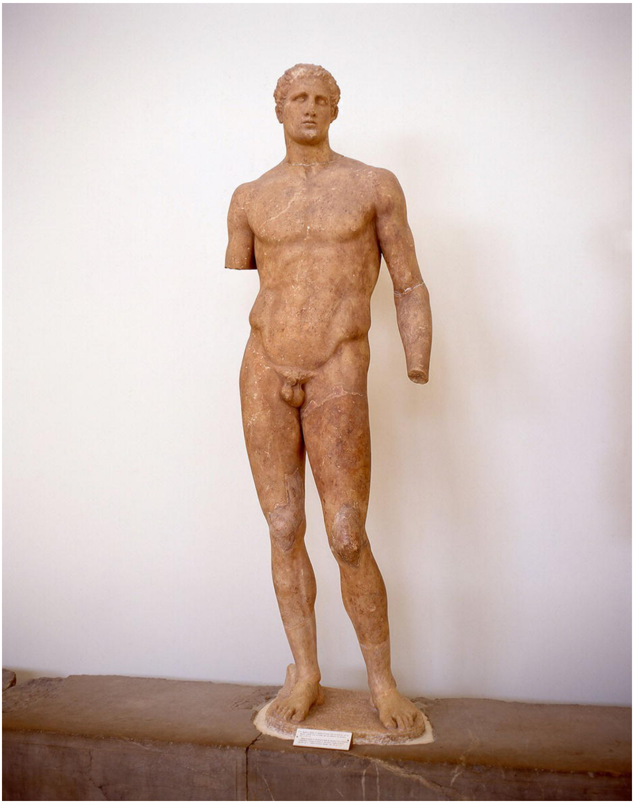


Figure 12.8 Agias from Daochus Monument. Delphi, Archaeological Museum 369. Marble. Circa 335. H. 6′ 7″ (2.0 m).

Source: © Greg Balfour Evans/Alamy.

Unattributed Originals

However, when faced with finds of fourth-century statuary, especially bronzes of the first quality, there is no resisting the temptation to hazard attribution. One example is the over life-size statue of a youth found in the sea off Anticythera, known to have come from a mixed cargo of Classical and Hellenistic sculptures on a ship that sank in the mid-first century (Figure 12.9). This youth displays traits of the mid- to later fourth century: small head, slender proportions, and an athletic torso modeled without sharp linear divisions. His face is slender and heart shaped, not oval like that of Agias, but his body is sturdier than those we connect with Praxiteles, and there is no lean whatsoever. The stance is strongly Polyclitan, but he turns and stretches out his arm to the right in the manner of Lysippus, and the resulting imbalance is treated differently than is that of the Apoxyomenus. Whereas the latter counters the shift of the torso with a solidly grounded free leg, the Anticythera youth turns his right knee inward and pushes off his toes. We see here the same concerns reflected by Lysippus' presumed works but a somewhat different solution. It could be from his school or, since his impact was long lasting, from a later era of classicism. A longstanding nickname for the statue is "Ballplayer," since he seems to be holding a sphere in his right hand, but the subject eludes us. His heroic scale suits a character from myth; Perseus displaying the gorgon's head or Heracles brandishing an apple are other common suggestions.

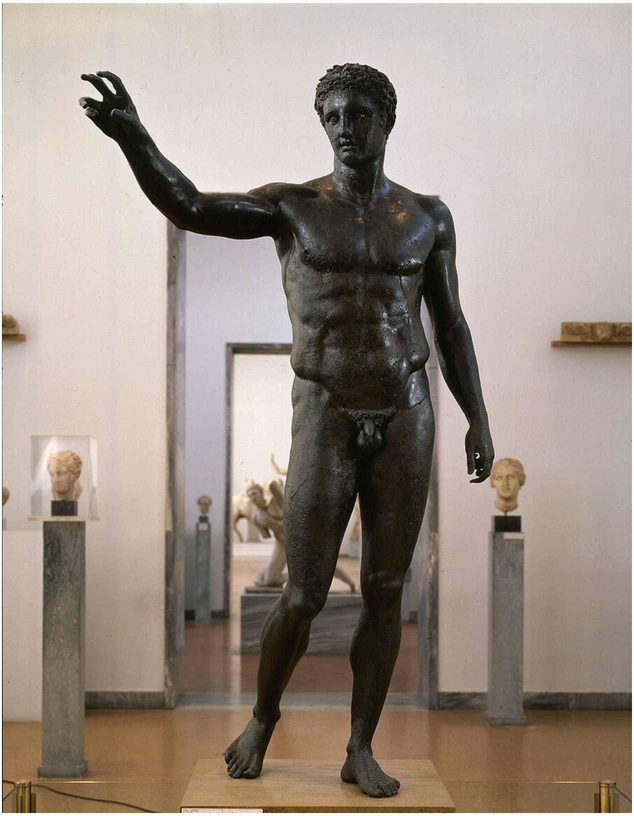


Figure 12.9 Youth from Anticythera wreck. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Br 13396. Bronze. Circa 340. H. 6′ 4″ (1.94 m).

Source: © The Art Archive/Alamy.

A second bronze youth, under life size, was found in the sea off Marathon but is not associated with a wreck, so even the date of its loss is unknown (Figure 12.10). It shares with the Anticythera youth its weight shift to the left and outstretched right arm, but the differences are more marked; the right lower leg does not angle out to brace, despite the projecting limb, since the upper body does not shift toward the free leg side but rather turns together with his gaze toward the weight-bearing hip. The arrangement most recalls a fourth-century type of wine-pouring satyr usually associated with Praxiteles, although the displacement outward of the right arm opens up greatly what in the satyr is a solidly closed composition, introducing a little Lysippus into a largely Praxitelean form. If his action can be restored as drawing a fillet from a container held on the flat left palm, the line of the ribbon would have made the arrangement both centripetal and frontal, in a Praxitelean manner; the strong characterization of youth, in facial shape, features, and anatomy, are also in keeping with what we associate with the Athenian master.

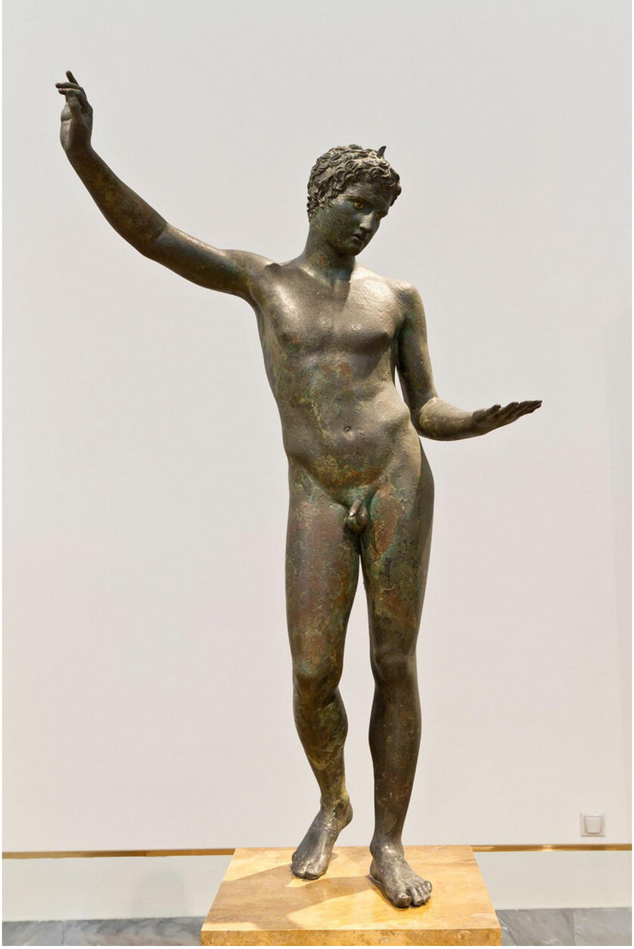


Figure 12.10 Youth from the sea off Marathon. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Br 15118. Bronze. Circa 330. H. 4′ 3″ (1.3 m).

Source: © Erin Babnik/Alamy.

Finally, one might also mention here the three bronzes found at Piraeus together with the Archaic(?) kouros considered above (Figure 3.2). These comprise three draped females – a well over human-scale Athena, a large Artemis, and a smaller Artemis. The Athena is noteworthy for her small head, expressive, delicate, youthful face, and the strong taper of her overall form from ground to shoulders – all Late Classical features (Figure 12.11). Also typically Late Classical is the concealing of her body by massive swathes of wrapped drapery with highly animated surfaces. The latter features remind one of the Apollo from the Agora and might suggest a connection with Euphranor. The Artemis figures are generally similar but seem a little later. As already noted, the entire group is highly problematic. That there is a marble version of the Athena suggests that an original of the type was copied, but says nothing about the date of that model. The females, moreover, wear sandals said to be Hellenistic in form. They very much look like a group cast together, both technically and formally if, as has been suggested, they each held a phiale. If so, since they represent different chronological styles, they must be bronze copies, later casts using earlier models or molds, or new Archaizing and Classicizing creations; it is all but impossible to determine which.

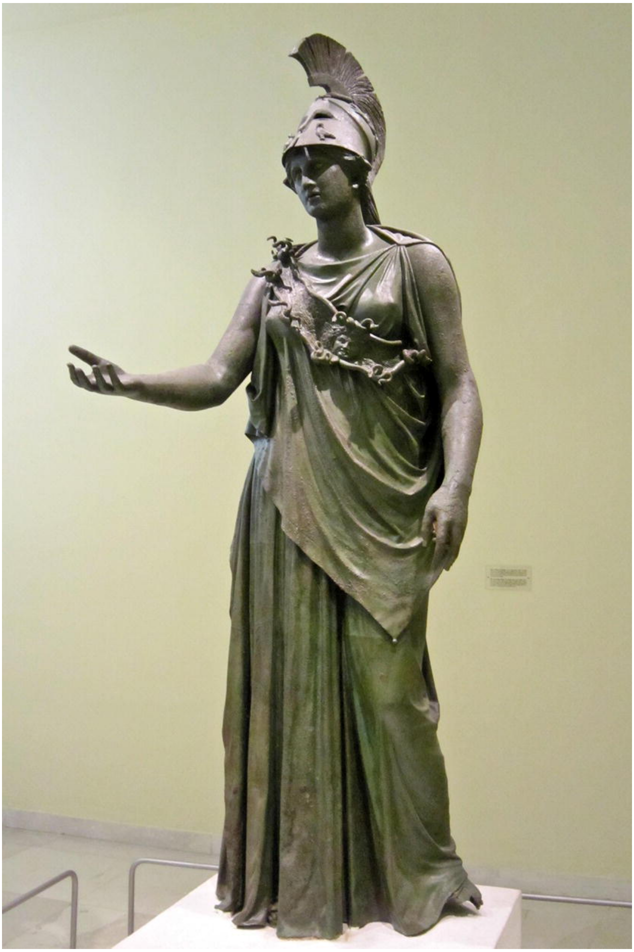


Figure 12.11 Athena. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum. Bronze. Circa 330 (or later). H. 7′ 9″ (2.35 m).

Source: © World History Archive/Alamy.

Reliefs

Attic funerary reliefs, revived in the later fifth century, continue to be produced, in greater quantity than ever until outlawed by decree in 317. Athens was therefore still an important center for relief carving even after the major temple-building projects ceased.

Their number and variety are great, and the quality, at its best, rivals that of architectural friezes. They typically bear funerary inscriptions, but none preserves an artist's signature. These were workshop products, but they reflect contemporary stylistic developments and thus complement the more fragmentarily preserved or indirectly documented media. The most obvious formal development is toward ever more-complex and deeply carved monuments, sometimes resembling small buildings. This interest in increasingly elaborate individual (or in this case family) commemoration is paralleled by a similarly sharp increase in the practice of erecting honorific portrait statues. It has been argued that the "temple-like" form of many monuments, as well as the statue-like figures, suggest a form of heroization for the deceased. Yet the scenes are most often multi-figural, and identification of the deceased within the compositions is notoriously tricky. It is unlikely that these works, despite their form, were meant to elevate the status of the deceased any more dramatically than their predecessors.

The most obvious iconographic development is the increasing dominance of the domestic grouping (cf. Hegeso) and thus a shift from portraying the subject with respect to his or her position in Athenian society to an emphasis on more personal, familial roles and relationships. The more perceptually naturalistic leanings visible in the sculpture of the time, as also in ancient writings about it, might lead one to expect more individualistic renderings in these reliefs. Yet, as in contemporary portraiture, what emerges is characterization of types, not realism *per se*. Individualization, moreover, raises the question, probably unanswerable, of whether these reliefs were commissioned or selected from ready-made stock. They constituted, of course, just one kind of Classical funerary monument; cemeteries were also populated with funerary statues (including animals, both real and fantastic), narrow stelai, and large marble funerary vessels, again with or without relief scenes. Often monuments of different types were arranged around a single-family plot, creating a view of accumulated commemoration and an atmosphere of somber piety reminiscent of a sanctuary with its centuries of varied votives. The gravesite remains a locus of cult and ritual.

While grave reliefs were created according to clearly detectible formulae, variations in the final product are considerable. It is thus difficult to illustrate the range with one or two examples, but the famous Ilissus Stele, found in the bed of that Athenian stream in 1874, is both a first-quality work and representative of the major stylistic developments (Figure 12.12). It is now separated from an architectural frame that would have borne the name of the deceased, so the subjects remain anonymous. It is evident from the height of the relief that the monument originally had a **naiskos**-like form. The youth at left is clearly the honoree. He is the focus of attention both for the elderly draped man at the right and, owing to his frontality, for the monument's viewer. The hunter's attributes of hound and club reference his appropriate pastimes and at the same time associate him with heroic formulae. He leans strongly against a pilaster on a stepped base (or stele?) on which his garment is draped. The crossed legs recall some Praxitelean figures; contrapposto is entirely abandoned here, but his body is supported, so the pose is more relaxed than unbalanced or momentary. His head, with textured surfaces and deeply shadowed eyes, recalls the Tegea works, and the torsion of his body is "Scopaic" as well. The characterization of ages – little boy, powerful youth, aged man – is explicit. The mood is somber, much more dramatically so than on other such works, where personal interrelationships are emphasized through touch and gesture and the sadness of separation is more implicit. Most obvious here is the apparent father figure, who has not only emotional, deeply set eyes but a heavily wrinkled face and a now-familiar gesture of foreboding. The toddler, probably a slave, is utterly spent with grief; even the dog lowers his head in sorrow. The style and high drama, as well as the depth of carving, indicate a date in the second half of the century, contemporary with the Tegea sculptures and Daochus Monument.

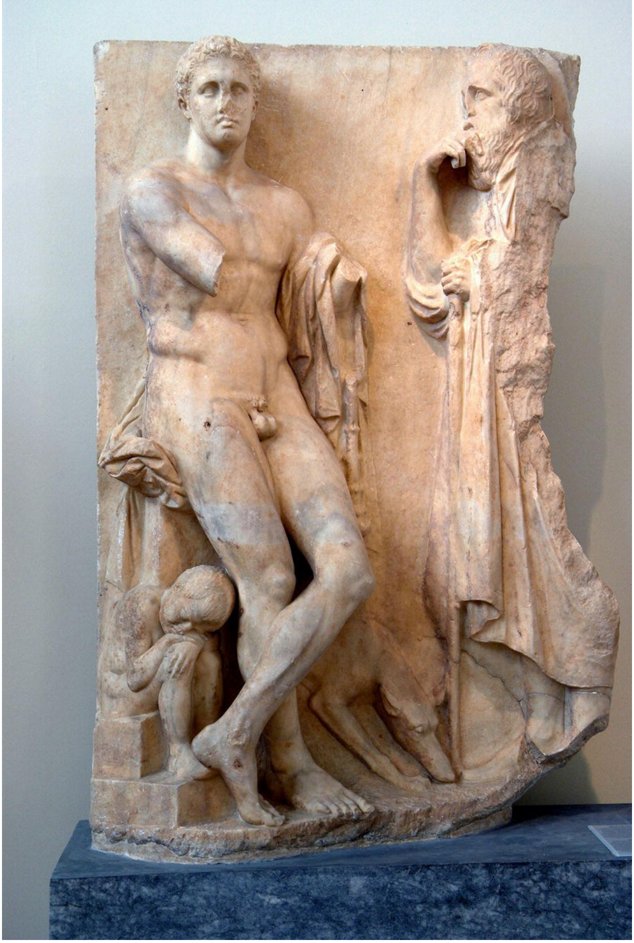


Figure 12.12 Stele from Ilissus. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 869. Marble. Circa 330. H. 5′ 6″ (1.68 m).

Source: © Glyn Genin/Alamy.

Much less typical is the monument of Aristonautes, which does preserve its frame and thus illustrates the point at which relief becomes architecture (Figure 12.13). He is a virtual statue, attached to the relief ground only at his lower back, the flowing cloak visually denying even that meager connection. The subject is also unusual. Armed warriors are occasionally shown, but only in a traditional family grouping. This rare single figure monument is like a much later version of the Archaic stele of Aristion (Figure 3.14), similarly focusing entirely on this one individual, using only his weaponry to relate him to the context of his life. Like the Ilissus relief it is dramatic, but it is a drama of violent action rather than somber sorrow, like a figure derived from a battle relief and given statuary form. It is probably one of the last in the series before the ban of 317.

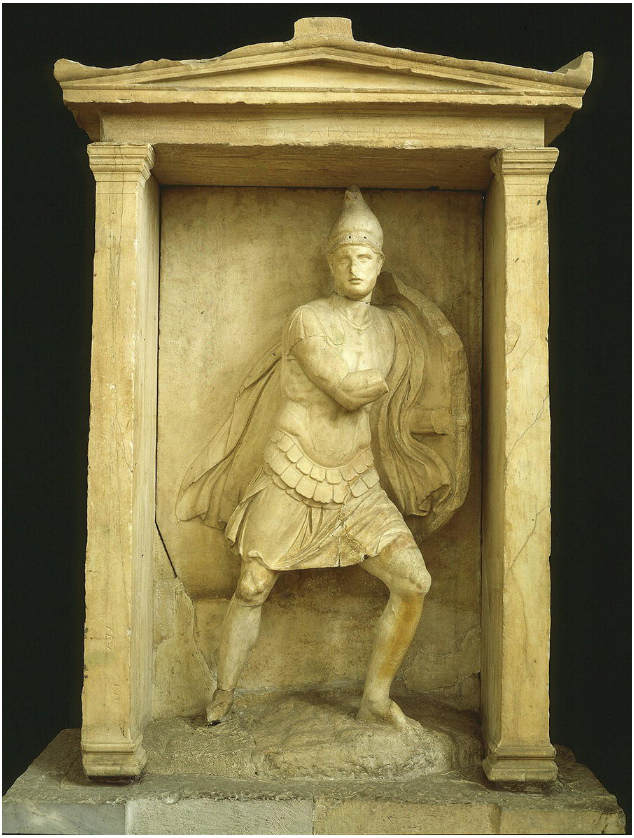


Figure 12.13 Stele of Aristonautes from Cerameicus Cemetery. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 738. Marble. Circa 320. H. 8′ 1″ (2.48 m).

Source: © The Art Archive/Alamy.

Attica and, to a lesser extent, other Greek centers were at this time increasingly active in the creation of non-funerary relief sculpture of a variety of sorts. These include sculptured bases for votive, commemorative, and temple ("cult") statuary as well as document reliefs on which carved images of deities and personifications make visually legible the principles of the attached decree. Most interesting, however, both for sculptural and cultural concerns are the votive reliefs, which, like the grave reliefs, mirror both the evolving styles of the time and the increasingly individualistic orientation of the populace.

Most Attic votive reliefs of the Peloponnesian War era, like those of the Archaic period, honored traditional Olympian deities, especially Athena, Artemis, and the Eleusinian dyad. The arrival of the Asclepius cult in the later fifth century marks a transition to what is typical of the fourth, for this healing cult is by its very nature markedly individualistic. Sanctuaries of Asclepius, and especially his daughter and most frequent companion Hygieia (Health), could serve as a locus for the ensuring of "public health," especially if introduced in response to the effects of the plague, but Athena Hygieia, who had a cult on the Acropolis, was probably more prominent in that regard. Well-documented activities at the Asclepia in Athens, Cos, Epidaurus, and elsewhere focused on the ailments and cures of individuals; worship at these sites, as reflected by the Epidaurian building boom, ballooned in the fourth century. The traditional gods and goddesses continue to receive their due, but the example of Asclepius is not unique. Other newly popular cults in which votive reliefs were increasing used were those of heroes (sometime with healing powers) and those having to do with rustic locales such as river gods and nymphs; the latter, of course, had also a direct connection to the also increasingly popular worship of Dionysus. As for the figural scenes, it is once more a shift of emphasis rather than a wholesale change. Archaic and High Classical votive reliefs represent a wide range – narrative scenes of myth, images of deities alone, worshippers alone, and worshippers together with deities, being healed, processing, sacrificing, or simply present. Those juxtaposing large deities and smaller figures of processing worshippers pick up popularity in the later fifth century and become increasingly standard in the fourth. This type involves the individual worshipper more explicitly in this ritual exchange, suggested in part, perhaps, by the greatest of Classical votive reliefs – the Parthenon frieze.

In an example from the Asclepium in Athens (Figure 12.14), the sculptor has combined two reliefs with two frames. In the pedimented naiskos at left is the god Asclepius with his identifying serpent-entwined staff, daughter Hygieia, and wife Epione. They receive a procession of worshippers who move within their own architectural frame, in this case crowned not by a gable but by a projecting eave, complete with antefixes. The two frames, though awkwardly juxtaposed, reinforce the perpendicular relationship between deities and worshippers far more vividly than a conventional relief could have done. The effect is entirely theatrical, the sculpture reenacting the ritual process like marble actors on an architecturally articulated stage set. The figures are fully fourth century, boldly three dimensional and wrapped in layers of volumetric concealing drapery, yet it is this performative quality, which engages the viewer and compels his involvement in the action, that places this work, like the Aristonautes relief, the Daochus Monument, and the Apoxyomenus, at the brink of the Hellenistic world. Indeed, while the exploits of Alexander and his successor kings utterly transformed the politics, economies, and societies of the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, the artistic accomplishments of the Hellenized world he brought about were rooted deeply in the innovations of the Late Classical. Moreover, the primary players at the beginning of the process were some of the sculptors we have considered here – Bryaxis, Leochares, and, especially, Lysippus himself, more famous even for his royal portraits than for his images of gods, heroes, and athletes. It is to the world of such monarchs that we now turn.

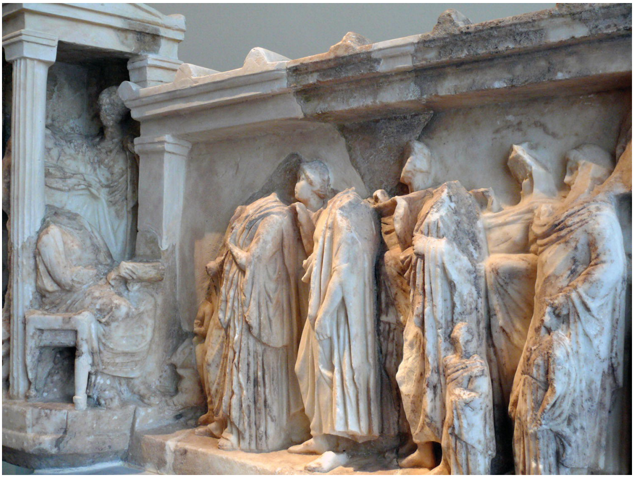


Figure 12.14 Relief from the Asclepium in Athens. Athens,

National Archaeological Museum 1377. (Currently in Athens, Acropolis Museum.) Circa 350. Marble. H. 3′ 1″ (0.95 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

13

Sculpture in Hellenistic Greece I: The Rise of Macedon and the Kingdoms of the Diadochs (circa 330–200)

While the protean leagues and alliances of Greek poleis were exhausting one another's resources through continuous conflict and intrigue, there was looming in nearby Macedonia a kingdom of power and potential unprecedented in the Hellenic world. Macedonian kings wielded authority less like their counterparts in Egypt and the Near East and more like the feudal potentates of early medieval Europe or, as they themselves would have it, Agamemnon and his comrades, known to them from Homer and the ruined citadels of the Argolid. Indeed, the line of the hereditary Argead (or Temenid) kings of Macedonia was traced back to the legendary king Temenus of Argos. Like his ancestors, the king of Macedon was often little more than a "first among equals" within a coterie of local nobles who largely controlled his rugged and extensive domain. Nor was the Macedonian conception of the Greeks to the south limited to a constructed royal genealogy; there was increasingly direct interaction, especially through trade in, and competition for, precious metals and timber in the northern Aegean. Macedonian involvement in the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars is recorded by Herodotus and Thucydides, generally unfavorably. The Macedonians' notoriously expedient, if not duplicitous, behavior no doubt resulted from a relationship more mercantile in its basis than political or military.

The "Greekness" of the Macedonians has been disputed since antiquity with a zeal that remains politically driven to the present day. One can safely say, however, that by the late fifth century the elite of Macedonia, whose wealth permitted it, had long been eager consumers of Greek culture, material and otherwise. It was then that Archelaus I (r. 413–399) built a spectacular new capital at Pella that more than rivaled the towns of Greece in its physical splendor. Hoping to recreate the Panhellenic pre-eminence of

Olympia, he founded an agonistic festival at Dion, appropriately located in the shadow of Mt Olympus. The games, in both athletics and performing arts, honored not only Zeus but also the Muses, adding the prestige of the Delphic god to that of the Olympian. Indeed, Dion shares its view of Olympus with the Vale of Tempe, sometime home to Apollo and the Muses and source of the Pythian laurel. Archelaus displayed similar cultural proclivities at the capital, where, following the example of his recent predecessors, he assembled a roster of artistic and literary luminaries that allegedly included Zeuxis, Euripides, and perhaps even Thucydides himself.

Following the death of Archelaus, the strains inherent in the Macedonian monarchic system became apparent. There were more kings than years between his death in 399 and the accession in 393 of Amyntas III, whose comparatively stable reign was maintained through the characteristically Macedonian strategy of ever-shifting diplomatic relations with the warring *poleis* to the south. His death was followed by another decade of palace intrigue and rapid successions until, in 360, his youngest son, while regent for an infant nephew, assumed the diadem as Philip II. Twenty-two years of age at the time, Philip had spent his middle teens as a hostage at Thebes in the era of the great leader Epaminondas, from whom he learned much about Greek military strategy, political turmoil, and diplomatic malleability – all subjects of abiding interest to a Macedonian prince. He realized, perhaps already at that time, that the common interests of Macedonia and Greece required a more lasting resolution. He acted quickly, confirming the loyalty of the nobility and expanding Macedonian control first into the mountainous northwest and then to the coastal northeast, where he secured not only native settlements but also Greek colonies of both ancient and recent foundation. In doing so, he not only secured his borders but also greatly expanded his control of resources, both material and human, that he would need for wars to come. Turning south, he extended his influence into Thessaly, Phocis, and Boeotia, in each case acting as an intermediary in a local dispute and emerging the true victor. As a result he acquired a coveted place on Delphi's Amphictyonic Council and presided at the Pythian games of 346, signifying recognition of his status as a leader of Greeks. The *poleis* of southern Greece perceived the threat, especially Athens, which had been contesting with him for territory in Thrace for some time. It was Athens' violation of a peace treaty that prompted Philip's march southward, and in 338 he was blocked at Chaeronea by an unlikely alliance of Athens and Thebes, together with a number of other Greek states but excluding the Spartans, who felt that this was not their battle. The Greeks fought bravely, but the encounter ended in a rout, resulting in part from the skilled cavalry leadership of the king's teenage son Alexander. The victorious king immediately assembled a congress at the Isthmus of Corinth, where he proclaimed the freedom of the Greeks. The irony of this act (repeated often by his successors) was surely obvious even at the time, since Philip's victory had in fact inaugurated an era of Macedonian domination in Greece that would last until supplanted by that of Rome in 168.

Two years after Chaeronea, Philip was assassinated by a disgruntled bodyguard, and it was left to Philip's son, now King Alexander III, to carry out his plans for further conquest. This well-known story needs no detailed recounting here, but the end result – the conquest of the Great King in the space of half a decade and the replacement of the Persian Empire with a Macedonian one – has since antiquity been recognized as an historical watershed. Yet before turning to the new "Hellenistic" world that Alexander ushered in, and in light of the distinctly Macedonian power structure that defined and controlled it, it would be useful to consider what "Macedonian" art, and specifically sculpture, comprised.

Macedonian Taste – The Derveni Crater

The evidence for Late Classical Macedonian art is both richer and poorer than for Athens, the Peloponnese, or coastal Asia Minor – the primary artistic centers of fourth-century Greece. The discrepancy results from differing customs. Two major categories of artistic activity – monumental painting and decorated metal vessels– are all but entirely absent from finds in Greece, but, thanks to spectacular discoveries of and in Macedonian chamber tombs over the past half century, are increasingly well documented in the north. Palatial residences appropriate to the Macedonian version of monarchy, moreover, provide much fuller evidence for wall painting and especially figural floor mosaic than is offered by the scrappy remains from Eretria, Athens, or Corinth. Sculpture is a different matter. No stone temples with elaborate narrative sculptures have been found in Macedonian sanctuaries, although admittedly by the end of Philip's reign such buildings had all but disappeared from Greece as well. While many re-create in paint and/or stucco the traditional forms of Classical temple sculpture, the justly famous tombs of Macedonia were neither sculptured nor above ground like those of the Carian and Lycian dynasts. Nor did the Macedonians use marble reliefs to mark their graves, favoring painted slabs instead. Thus, most of the categories of evidence that we have used for the analysis and assessment of Late Classical sculpture in Greece proper do not exist for the Macedonians. In the case of bronze statuary, we are here as always dependent on indirect evidence.

The painting and plate preserved in these tombs of nobles and kings suggests less a distinctive Macedonian style in art than Macedonian taste. As will be seen in the Hellenistic kingdoms, and will recur in the case of the Romans, the very definition of "Macedonian" art is elusive, being more dependent on provenience, patronage, and function than on authorship, style, or iconography – all of which remain essentially Greek. This should come as no surprise. Greek artists had been brought to the courts at Aegae and Pella for over a century, and our sources on Philip and Alexander are explicit about their employing, as did Mausolus, the most famous Greek artists of the day. It is also clear that the craft of working precious metals into monumental vases was closely related to that of casting and working statuary in bronze. Numerous artists are said to have been virtuosi in both crafts, and a work such as the Derveni Crater might well have come from such a hand.

This bronze volute crater with inlaid silver details is among the largest and surely the most elaborately decorated of the many metal vessels preserved from Macedonian contexts (Figures 13.1 and 13.2). It was found in an unplundered tomb with dozens of other vessels, many of which are datable; an inscription names its owner, it contained a coin of Philip II, and the cremated remains that it held secures its function. Nonetheless, almost every aspect of this remarkable object is a point of debate. The tomb itself (Derveni B) is generally agreed to date to the last third of the fourth century, perhaps containing a companion of Alexander. However, some tomb furnishings were surely relics (certain vessels are fifth century in style), and the individual named on the vessel (a Thessalian named Astion) may have been a previous owner. Some place the crater in the early fourth century. Its place of manufacture has been located in Thessaly (inscription), Macedonia (findspot), Athens (artistic references), and Corinth (ancient reputation in this craft). However these questions are resolved, the fact that it was used as a cinerary vessel in a Macedonian tomb in the later fourth century qualifies it as a reflection of Macedonian taste at the dawn of the Hellenistic era, by which time Thessaly had long been absorbed within the Macedonian political and cultural sphere.

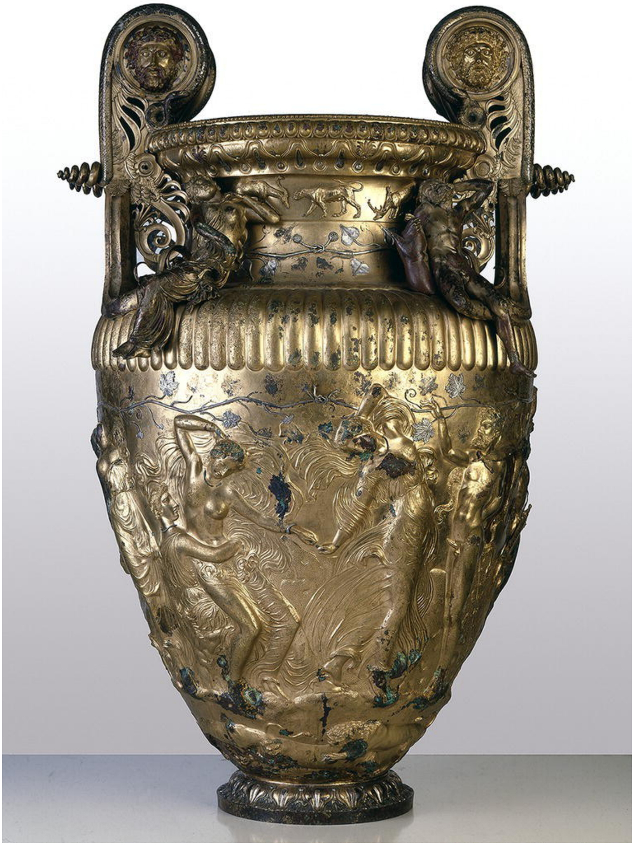


Figure 13.1 Crater from Tomb B at Derveni, Macedonia. Side A. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum B1. Bronze with silver and copper detailing. Circa 330 (or earlier?). 3′ (0.905 m).

Source: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum. Photostock/ Konstantinos Kontos.

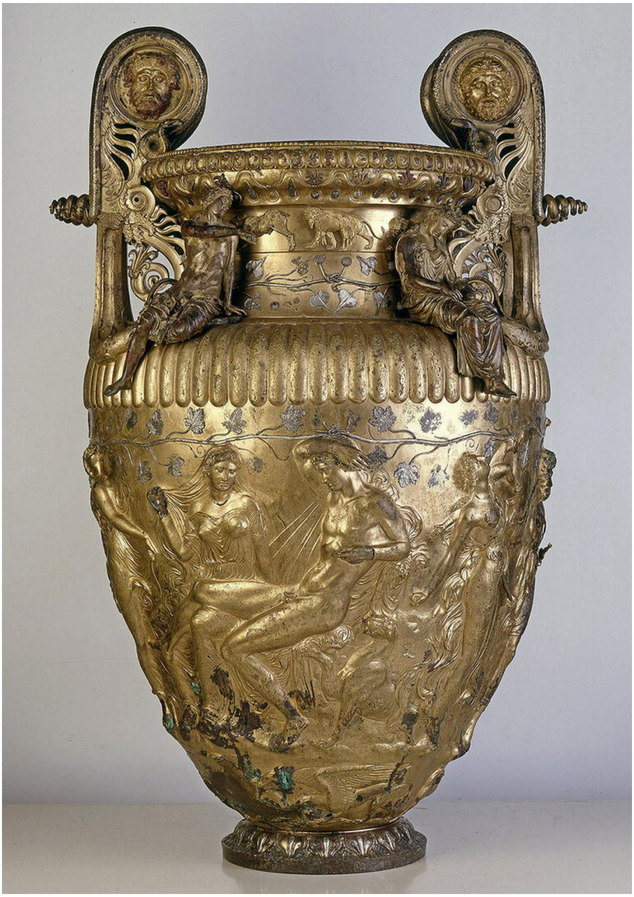


Figure 13.2 Crater from Tomb B at Derveni, Macedonia. Side B. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum B1. Bronze with silver and copper detailing. Circa 330 (or earlier?). 3′ (0.905 m).

Source: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum. Photostock/ Konstantinos Kontos.

The faux architecture of the famous Macedonian built tombs of the time is patently eclectic in its decorative, atypical, and often illogical juxtapositions of elements from contrasting stylistic traditions. The same description applies to this vessel. The form is well known from Late Classical red figure, especially that of South Italian Apulia, although the origin of the shape can be traced to High Classical Athens. Like the Apulian vessels, the iconography is both Dionysiac and **chthonic** – note the spectacular serpents that wrap themselves around the volutes at the rim – thus bridging the vessel's dual (but far from separate) sympotic and funerary functions. Such snakes are best paralleled on Attic Geometric vessels, an archaism possibly shared with the animal friezes on the neck and at the base – a motif not common after the sixth century but recurring in the fourth, when its exoticism can be read as Dionysiac, Orientalizing, or both.

However these subsidiary features are understood, it is the large **thiasos** that is the primary focus. A tall frieze wrapped continuously around the body centers on a languid youthful Dionysus with his legs draped across the lap of his consort Ariadne. Around them frolic a series of ecstatic maenads and two male figures; the latter are anthropomorphic, although one is shown to be a silen through his satyr-like facial features and erect penis. The other, apparently mortal, is thought by some to be Pentheus, tragic protagonist of Euripides' *Bacchae*, perhaps composed at the Macedonian court.

The female figures especially are patently Classicizing. Ariadne herself owes much to the Aphrodite of the Parthenon East Pediment; the slipped strap motif here extends to both shoulders, making her low-girt chiton especially dependent on its wet and clinging property in order to retain any sense of modesty. The maenads, whose drapery style draws on later models, revel in their various states of undress in an exhibitionist manner difficult to imagine before the fourth century. The ultimate source of the swirling, wind-swept drapery is of course the rich style of the Nike parapet, but its treatment here is exaggerated, mannered, and melodramatically irrational in Late Classical fashion. Similarly, strongly torsional poses (one resembles the "Scopaic" Dresden maenad) point to the fourth century, while the smooth, dispassionate faces and restrained low relief are at home in the fifth. The composition has been seen as a reflection of a fifth-century prototype whose figures are copied in the famous "Callimachean" maenads known from Neo-Attic reliefs (Figure 14.15). While certain elements of style and the Dionysiac subject matter can be found on High Classical red-figure vases and at least one bronze vessel, the stylistic mix on the Derveni Crater suggests a free reinterpretation of any fifth-century model, and one that was extensively updated to contemporary Late Classical tastes.

Royal Portraiture

Public honorific portraiture was rare, but not unknown, in the fifth century, and from the slender evidence seems to have been quite generalized in form. Portraits became more frequent in the fourth century, when statues of especially prominent statesmen and generals were erected and, in more private contexts, images of philosophers were set up as well. After mid-century we encounter family portrait groups in both funerary and votive contexts. The Daochus Monument, for example, is at once an amplification of the traditional statue of a victorious athlete (indeed, several of its members were just that), a modification of the polis-commissioned civic hero dedication, and an appropriation of the eastern, quasi-royal expression of the Mausoleum. The latter, although purely Greek work, derives from an oriental tradition of characterization amply testified in satrapal coinage, as Mausolus himself was technically a satrap, not a king.

Daochus was, of course, from Thessaly, an area by that time tightly within the Macedonian sphere of influence, and Macedon had long shared with the Persians economic interests in the northern Aegean and the cultural tradition of employing not only portraiture, but also hunting and warfare, both in imagery and reality, as expressions of the masculine power intrinsic to dynastic monarchy. The Mausoleum, with its sculptured hunts, battles, and portraits complementing its Greek myths, was a conspicuous visual panoply of power aimed both eastward and westward. In the age of Philip and Alexander, a number of monumental sculptured groups that were commissioned by Macedonian patrons operate within this nexus of Greek, Macedonian, and Near Eastern traditions of display. Not long before his assassination, Philip erected at Olympia a marble tholos displaying five portraits – of himself, his mother Eurydice, his father Amyntas III, his fourth wife Olympias, and their son Alexander. While Pausanias (5.20.9–10) calls these statues chryselephantine, plinth cuttings indicate that they were more likely gilt marble; Leochares was the artist. This same sculptor collaborated with Lysippus on a bronze group at Delphi depicting the lion hunt of Craterus and Alexander. Lysippus himself is credited with an even larger group, erected at

Dion, heroizing in bronze 25 of Alexander's companion cavalry who fell at the Granicus in 333. Metellus Macedonicus removed it to Rome to commemorate his victory over the pretender Andriscus in 148, which ended even the pretense of Macedonian independence.

What is known about any of these? The portraiture of Philip and Alexander is much discussed but remains elusive, the former much more so than the latter. Two small ivory heads from Tomb II at Vergina, originally furniture inlay from what was, not surprisingly, a hunt or battle group, have long been proposed as representing the two kings, father and half-brother of Philip III Arridaeus, the tomb's possible occupant (Figure 13.3). Philip II, it is generally agreed, was bearded, like one of the two heads in question, which also bears a nick in one eyebrow. Some think this a subtle allusion to Philip's having lost an eye in battle, but it may not be significant, or even deliberate. The other shares traits with what we understand as Alexander's imagery, but the idealized quality that is the primary common feature is at the same time a barrier to certainty.

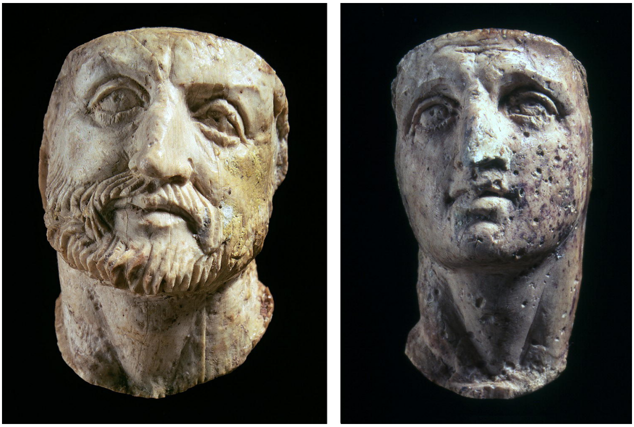


Figure 13.3 Ivory heads from Tomb II. Vergina Museum. Ivory. Vergina, Archaeological Museum. H. 1½″ (0.034 m).

Source: Vergina, Archaeological Museum. Photostock/Konstantinos Kontos.

Historical source criticism for Alexander and his exploits is a famously challenging enterprise. We know there were contemporary accounts; we even know the authors' names. Yet they come down to us only in citations and adaptations by much later writers, each of whom employed his sources selectively and creatively. We are in precisely the same situation with Alexander's portraiture. Like the stories of Alexander's herculean deeds, his visage is among the most familiar phenomena from the ancient world, yet our conception of the portraits created in his lifetime remains shadowy. Sources tell us much, but they were written at the end of the portrait tradition rather than the beginning. Lysippus is said by Plutarch (*Alexander* 4.1) to have had the exclusive commission for Alexander's portraiture beginning from his boyhood, and so he should have been the sculptor of the Philippeum statue, which is, however, attributed by Pausanias to Leochares. The painter Apelles and gem-cutter Pyrgoteles are said to have had a similar monopoly, rendering the tradition more spurious still.

There are also descriptions, most famously Plutarch's, who in his verbal portrait of Alexander describes Lysippus' renderings: "Alexander with his face turned upward toward the sky, just as Alexander himself was accustomed to gaze, turning his neck gently to one side" (*Moralia* 335A–B; tr. Pollitt 1990, 99) As Plutarch implies, the portraits were taken to represent the king accurately, so we might reasonably assume that the many descriptions of Alexander's appearance are based on this representational tradition. Other frequently noted features are the clean-shaven face, prominent "melting" eyes, and a shaggy hairstyle characterized by the **anastole**, a pair of pronounced upswept locks at the part. Some, at least, of these features are confirmed by the only labeled portrait sculpture, Roman in date (Figure 13.4). The resulting leonine impression resonated with Alexander's preferred obverse coin type of a beardless Heracles head in lion skin cap, invoking the heroic ancestor of the Argead dynasty. Indeed, many have erroneously identified Alexander's portrait on these coins, which is unlikely, although the visual conflation of king and hero was surely intentional and well served by the highly idealized aspect of both. Alexander's portrait does appear fairly soon on coins of his followers, where he is identified, as and like a god, by attributes, such as the rams' horns of his father Zeus Ammon. Alexander images are plentiful in many media, and in most the anastole alone suffices to identify; the turn of the neck is also a frequent if not constant trait. Many attempts have been made to ascertain which reflect the works of Lysippus and/or Leochares, and some are more plausible than others. There remains nothing from his lifetime, and, aside from the coins, nothing securely from the fourth century. Yet we have no trouble understanding in what form Alexander was visualized in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, and, in art as in history, it was Alexander's legacy that mattered far more than the realities of his life.

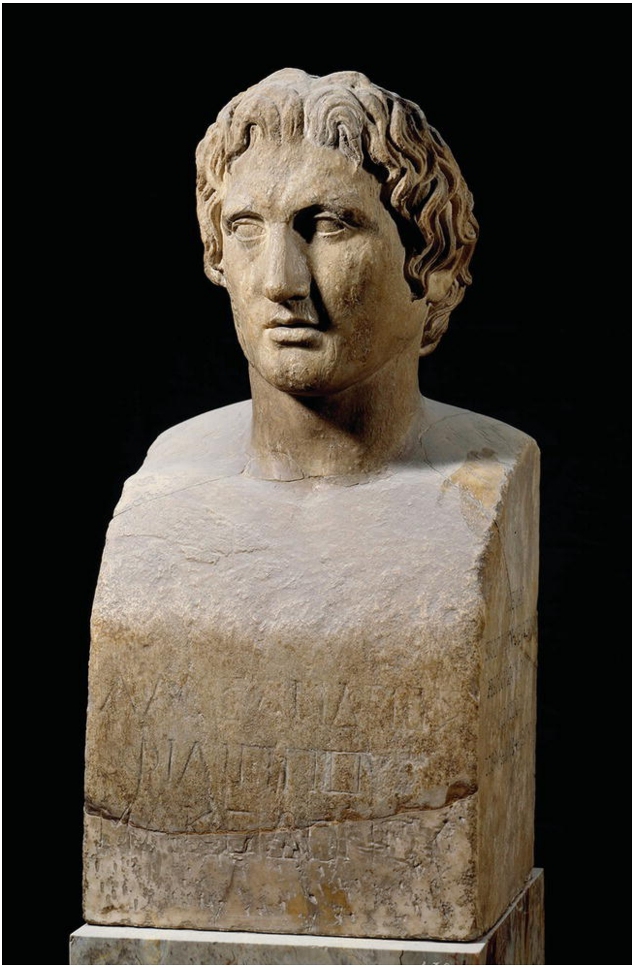


Figure 13.4 Portrait of Alexander. Roman marble copy "Azara Herm." Paris, Louvre MA 436. Original circa 330? H. 2′ 3″ (0.68

m).

Source: © 2015. White Images/Scala, Florence.

As for the groups themselves, royal hunts and battles occur in Macedonian painting and mosaic in the early Hellenistic period, and hopeful attempts to connect these with the bronze dedications are not lacking. Their counterpart in the realm of sculpture is the great Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon (Figures 13.5 and 13.6). The latest of 18 sarcophagi in various forms (Greek, Phoenician, Egyptian) found in the Royal Cemetery of Sidon, it is the most monumental, and the most Greek in style, of the group, a fact that further encourages its comparison to known works of painting and mosaic as well as to unknown works such as the bronze groups at Dion and Delphi. The sarcophagus, in the form of a gabled structure, has six figured fields comprising the four sides of the coffin proper and the two pediments on the lid. There are three battles, two hunts, and what appears, oddly, to be an assassination in one pediment. The first two subjects, of course, were entirely traditional, present not only on Hellenizing Anatolian works but also on several of the earlier Sidonian sarcophagi. The Asiatic genealogy goes back through Persia to Assyria and even beyond, and the murdered adversary, too, has been identified as an eastern feature. The sarcophagus's occupant is generally accepted to be Abdalonymus, an obscure Sidonian named king by Alexander immediately following his victory at Issus in 333. The length of his life is unknown, but it is generally accepted that it would have been carved and publicly displayed in his lifetime, so it is generally dated to circa 320.

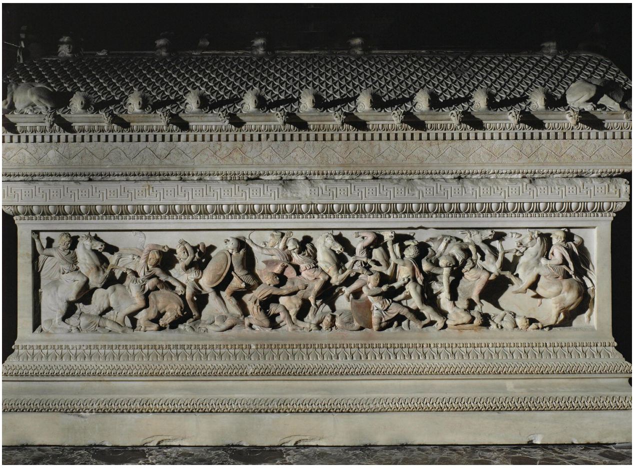


Figure 13.5 "Alexander Sarcophagus." Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 370. Battle side. Marble. Circa 320. H. (of frieze) 2′ 3″ (0.69 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

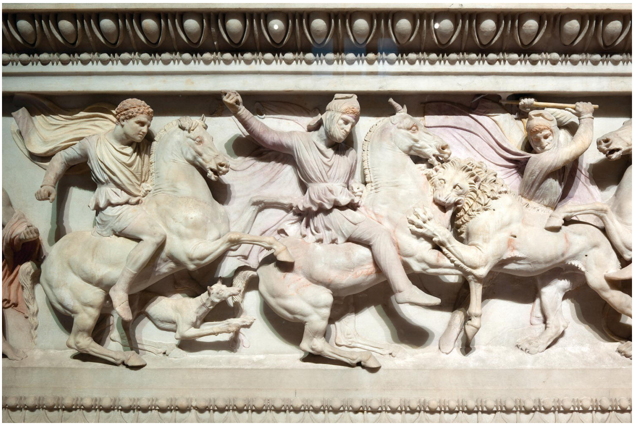


Figure 13.6 "Alexander Sarcophagus." Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 370. Hunt side. Marble. Circa 320. H. (of frieze) 2′ 3″ (0.69 m).

Source: akg-images/Rainer Hackenberg.

Since we know a little about the king and the circumstances of his elevation, many attempts have been made to attach historical specificity to scenes that are, for the most part, quite generic. At the far left of the long battle scene, an equestrian figure with lion scalp helmet is reasonably taken to be Alexander himself, and that Abdalonymus was made king in the wake of the battle of Issus suggests the most likely subject of the relief, if it depicts a specific battle at all. All else is conjecture. Two other Macedonian cavalrymen may be Alexander's companions Hephaestion (who actually chose Abdalonymus) and Craterus, who may recur on the other long side. Here is depicted a lion hunt, most likely one that took place in the royal hunting preserve at Sidon and was commemorated at Delphi by the bronze group erected in the name of Craterus' son after the general's death in 321.

The central group here is formed by a rider in Persian dress (probably the king of Sidon) spearing a lion that attacks his horse and is about to receive his final blow from an oriental on foot. They are flanked by two Macedonians on horseback, neither of which is clearly identified although many see the trace of a diadem, once added in metal, on the figure to the left. The peculiar assassination scene is believed to record a later event, the murder of the regent Perdiccas by his own officers during his campaign against Ptolemy in 320. The iconography is otherwise entirely conventional, a blend of Macedonian and Near Eastern traditions that is apparent in the earlier Sidonian sarcophagi as also in Carian and Lycian tomb monuments going back over a century. The figural types and groups are here again drawn from a repertoire existing at least as early as the Parthenon and adapted throughout a sequence of Classical temple sculptures that preserve them in stylistically updated form. This synthesis accords well with the emerging Macedonian tastes that govern artistic choices in the kingdoms of the Diadochs.

The Legacy of Alexander and Lysippus

When Alexander died at Babylon in 323, there was no clear provision for succession. His commanding generals agreed among themselves that Philip (III) Arridaeus and Alexander's infant son (Alexander IV, who was born some two months after his father's death) would rule jointly and Perdiccas, leader of the Companion Cavalry, would serve as regent. Some among them took parts of Alexander's conquests to govern in the name of the monarchs.

After the death of Alexander IV in 306/5, one of these generals, Antigonus, assumed Alexander's royal title (*basileus*) together with his son Demetrius, followed quickly by Ptolemy in Egypt, Seleucus in the east, and Lysimachus in Thrace. There followed a further generation of warfare, intrigue, barbarian invasion, and general chaos punctuated only occasionally by short periods of relative peace. By the time the dust settled around 270 the lines were largely drawn and the so-called Hellenistic kingdoms established. Antigonus Gonatas, grandson of his namesake, ruled in Macedonia; Antiochus, son of Seleucus (d. 281) was king of Syria (which included lands eastward as far as the king could hold them); and Ptolemy's son (Ptolemy II) ruled in Egypt. At this same time a fourth major Mediterranean power was emerging at Pergamum, where Philetaerus was carving out a kingdom for himself in western Anatolia, although the royal title was adopted only by his successors. Conflict among the kingdoms did not cease as each sought to restore Alexander's realm, at least in name, and these same dynasties were those encountered by the Romans when they came on the scene at the end of the century.

Each of these dynastic founders laid claim to rule through his association with Alexander, a fact emphasized in portraiture through visual assimilation to him. Literary and epigraphical evidence indicates that many royal portraits were erected in the agoras and sanctuaries of the newly cosmopolitan cities of this vastly expanded, Hellenized world, as also in the old *poleis* of the Aegean itself. Yet our knowledge of them is meager, and for two primary reasons. First, while there are a few extant marble works that may be royal portraits, the statues were mostly in bronze and thus entirely lost; this was one element of continuity from the Classical epoch. Second, the Romans rarely seemed to have favored them, in strong contrast with Greek poets, philosophers, and orators, as subjects for display in either public or private contexts. Most presumed Roman copies of Hellenistic royal portraits come from a single room in a single villa at Herculaneum. Thus, our evidence is mainly numismatic, and from it we learn precisely what we would expect.

Of the primary Mediterranean kingdoms only the Ptolemaic and Seleucid offer a continuous sequence of royal coin portraits. Demetrius Poliorcetes, like Ptolemy I and Seleucus I, minted coins with his own image soon after adopting a royal title, but his Antigonid successors (until Philip V) revert to the Macedonian custom, shared with the Greek, of using gods and goddesses as obverse types. Philetaerus' portrait first appears on the coins of his successor Eumenes, initiating a type that is retained on the coinage of the entire Attalid line. All of these early Hellenistic coin portraits draw heavily on the iconography of Alexander, who was of course asserted by each to have been his rightful predecessor. All but Philetaerus (who was never technically a king) wear the royal diadem, all sport some version of Alexander's tousled, leonine, flame-locked hairstyle, and large, deeply set eyes lend intensity to each facial expression. There is, however, characterization within this general scheme. Demetrius, like Alexander, still young when he rises to power, retains the king's youthful idealism and exchanges the rams' horns of Ammon for the bulls' horns of his protector Poseidon, his coin images assisting the identification of sculptured copies (Figure 13.7). Those of Seleucus and Ptolemy, each at or beyond middle age at the time of coronation, admit some signs of greater maturity in the slightly heavier neck and jowls, but striking signs of realism are lacking, and the connections among them, and with Alexander, are clear enough.

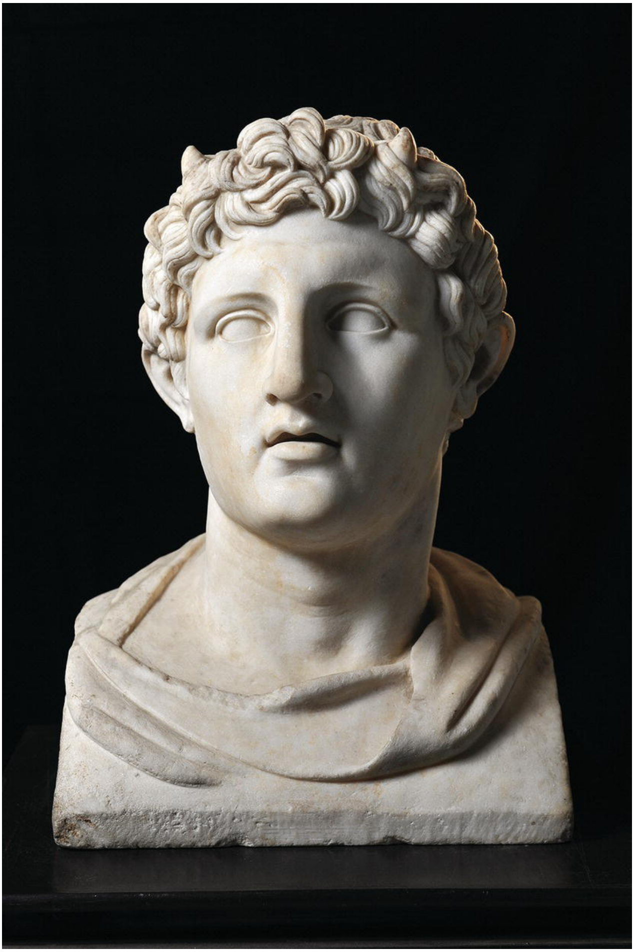


Figure 13.7 Portrait of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Roman copy of bronze original circa 300. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6149. H. 1′ 5″ (0.435 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of Ministero Beni e Attività Culturali.

This phenomenon of the slightly characterized but largely generic “hero-king” well suits the time period. That external appearance reflects inner character (**physiognomics**) was widely accepted by the time of Aristotle, when portraits of individuals were far more common than had been the case just a century earlier. Aristotle’s interest in characterization led to his exploration, in

Nicomachaean Ethics, of the differing moral qualities (*ethoi*) that distinguish individuals, a phenomenon that was developed further by his successor Theophrastus in his *Characters*, which reduces these to a group of set character "types," in the New Comedy of Menander and other playwrights, and by the early Hellenistic poet Herodas in his *Mimiamboi*. Around the same time, these phenomena were associated with physical forms in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomica*, and it was no doubt in this last context that there arose a "hyper-realistic" trend, especially in the Hellenistic minor arts, of very strong characterization, choosing such subjects as very old people, emaciated figures, paupers, drunkards, and those afflicted by physical deformity – explorations of exaggerated types created for purposes that remain obscure (cf. Figure 14.12). Minimally, the increasing diversity of Hellenistic society prompted a desire to explore in greater detail the variety that existed within the population, in art as in literature. Owing to this connection with early Hellenistic poetry and the presumed cosmopolitanism of the Ptolemaic capital, such bronze and terracotta statuettes are commonly classified as "Alexandrian," but they were more widespread both chronologically and geographically than that term implies.

All evidence, then, suggests that Greeks of every period favored the so-called character portrait, which sought more to describe the subject's qualities, as illustrated and formed by his acts and experiences, than to reproduce actual physical appearance. It was therefore just as possible, and common, to create a convincingly lifelike portrait well after the subject's lifetime as during. It is, moreover, highly likely that many of the portrait types of eminent Greek poets, thinkers, and statesmen that have come down to us in Roman replicas were created in and after this early Hellenistic era, which saw as well the beginnings of a systematic retrospective study of earlier Greek culture, especially, again, at Alexandria. Such was certainly the case for the statue of the Athenian orator Demosthenes, set up in the Agora of Athens in 280, 42 years after his suicide. There are over 50 versions of the type, including three full-length statues (Figure 13.8); a small bronze head is labeled, so the identification is secured. Given the importance of oratory to elite Romans and their deep respect for Classical rhetoric, the number of copies is not surprising. Plutarch's description of the

Agora statue agrees with the type, so the connection seems assured (*Demosthenes*, 31).

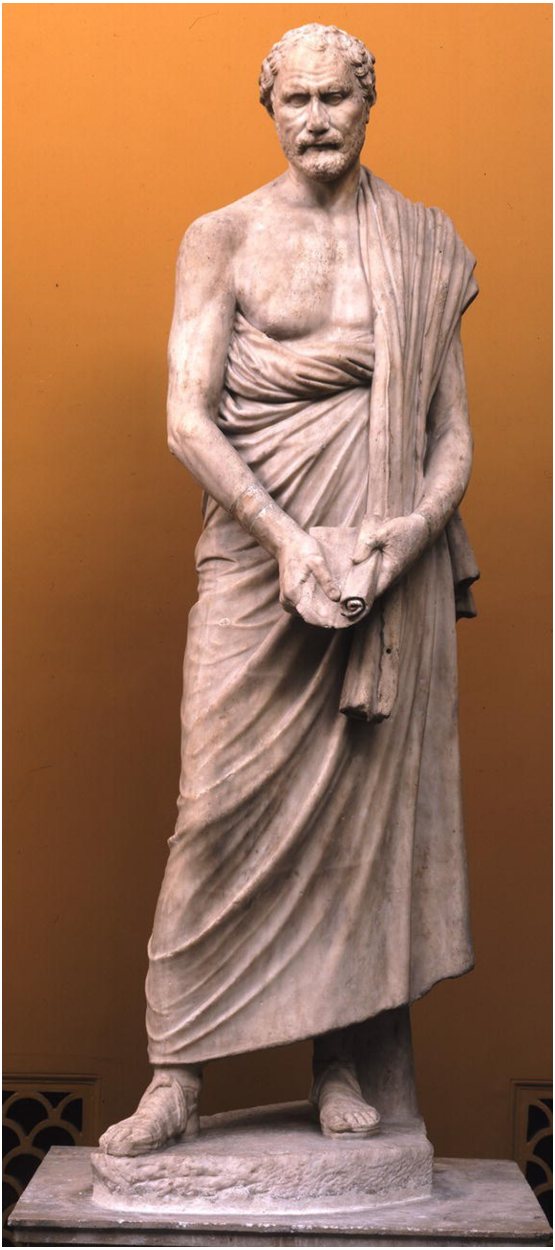


Figure 13.8 Polyeuctus. Portrait of Demosthenes. Marble copy of

bronze original from 280. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. H. 6′ 8″ (2.02 m).

Source: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, photograph by Ole Haupt.

The type gives every appearance of a realistic, “warts and all,” depiction of its subject. The hairline recedes, the brow is deeply lined, and the mouth betrays a distinct underbite. Demosthenes was said to be serious, even harsh, in personality, traits reflected both in his expression and by the deeply introspective quality that permeates the entire statue. The underbite may be a subtle allusion to the speech impediment that he reportedly struggled to overcome by practicing declamation with pebbles in his mouth. The sculptor, Polyeuctus, who may at best have heard verbal descriptions based on dim recollection, creates a vividly real re-presentation of his subject; whatever the sources at hand for Demosthenes’ actual appearance, it was his *ethos* that was the sculptor’s primary subject. We know nothing of the sculptor but his name and this one work. Whatever his ethnic or his teacher, he can surely be seen as a successor to Lysippus, and not solely from his demonstrated expertise at casting biography in bronze. The subtly uneasy three-dimensional pose of the figure, turned toward the side of the sharply displaced free leg with its arms and legs defining two distinct planes, betrays lessons learned from the Agias and Apoxyomenus.

Pliny (*NH* 34.66–67) and other sources do name several followers of Lysippus over three generations, including that Xenokrates who numbers among the earliest writers on sculpture. Taking the attributions in the aggregate we discover a familiar range of themes: hunt and battle groups, other major public commissions, victor statues (including an Apoxyomenus), and portraits of kings and other followers of Alexander. The works of Teisicrates, pupil of Lysippus’ son Euthycrates, are said to have been more similar to the sculptures of Lysippus himself than those of his teacher, the master’s own son. Interestingly, Pliny cites as examples three portraits, one of which can by its name (“Old Theban”) be assumed a characterization in the style of Polyeuctus. The most famous by far of the works by Lysippus’ pupils was Chares’ colossal Helios set up by the Rhodians in their harbor, paid for by sale of the siege engines left behind in 305 by Demetrius Poliorcetes (who received his ironic moniker “the Besieger” from this unsuccessful exploit). One of the seven wonders of the ancient world, it is frequently mentioned, but we know little of its appearance except its size (70 cubits, nearly three times larger than the Parthenos) and the fact that it fell in an earthquake only 56 years after its dedication.

Better known by far is another major public work, a personification of fortune, Tyche, made by the aptly named Eutychides for Seleucus' new Mediterranean capital at Antioch, founded in 301. It had been over a century since personification was developed to the status of allegory, most clearly in the Athena Nike temple complex in Athens, followed by Cephisodotus' Eirene and Plutus. Lysippus seems to have taken the genre to an entirely new level with his image of Kairos, or Opportunity. As described by the early Hellenistic epigrammist Posidippus (*AnthGr* 16.275), this was a peculiar figuration with a complex system of allegorical attributes (tiptoed stance, winged feet, razor in hand, bald in back) emphasizing the momentary nature of its subject, capable of being seized in prospect but not retrospect. In was in this tradition that Eutychides fashioned his Tyche. From the sources we learn only that she was seated atop another personification, of the river Orontes, but this suffices, with coin representations, to identify the statuary type (Figure 13.9). The imprint of the Lysippan school can be seen not only in the system of allegorical signage, including the river, the mural crown, and the grain in her hand, but also in the composition's conspicuous three dimensionality. If the Demosthenes was bi-facial, the Tyche has the myriad surfaces of a well-cut gemstone, its facets suggested by triangular planar surfaces defined through a meticulous arrangement of arms and legs. The diverging gazes of the Tyche and the river strengthen the effect. Reflective of the increasingly abstract intellectualism of the time, the statue introduces a major category of Hellenistic sculpture and, like the Nike of Samothrace (see box), underscores the programmatic, communicative function of art in the service of the Hellenistic kings.

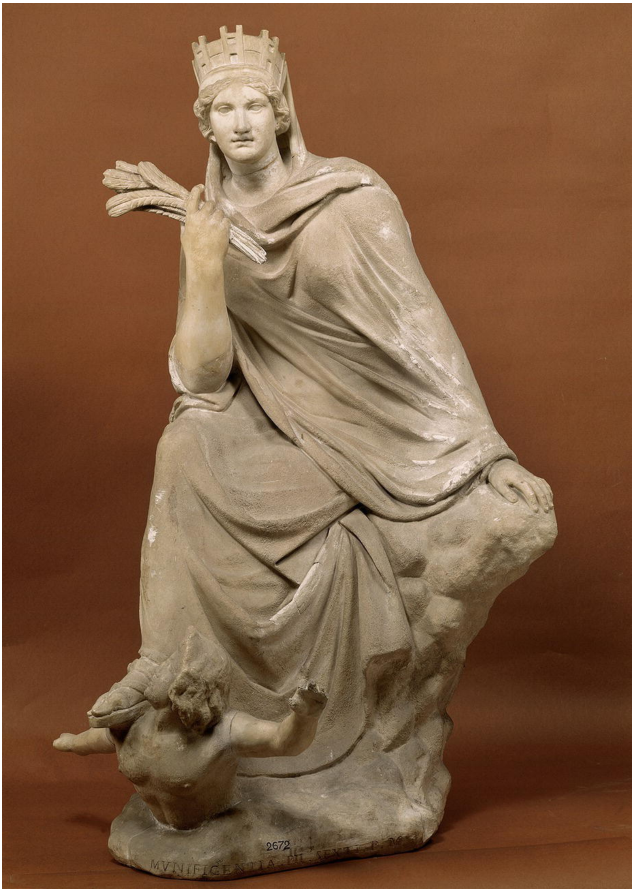


Figure 13.9 Eutychides. Tyche of Antioch. Marble copy of bronze original from circa 300. Vatican City, Vatican Museums. H. 3′ 2″ (0.96 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence.

Later in the third century, a sculptural monument set up at Pergamum conveys a somewhat different message by different means, although it, too, remains strongly in the Lysippic tradition. “Several artists represented battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls – Isogonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus, and Antigonus, who wrote volumes about his art” (Pliny, *NH* 34.84; tr. Pollitt 1990, 113). All Pergamene rulers after Philetaerus bore one of these two names, but inscribed blocks attest that at least two statuary monuments were set up on the Athena terrace in order to commemorate victories of Attalus I (r. 241–197), including those over Gauls. Such battle groups obviously follow a precedent set by Alexander and his companions, although in this case it is assumed that the bronzes depicted the vanquished rather than, or in addition to, the victors. Confirmation is offered by Pausanias, who notes that Attalus (we do not know which one) dedicated on the south wall of the Athenian Acropolis under life-size bronze figures representing a Gigantomachy, an Amazonomachy, the Battle of Marathon, and the defeat of the Gauls in Mysia (1.25.2). The subjects were obviously chosen to reference the nearby Periclean monuments and, following the precedent of the nearby Parthenon and the Nike temple, the dedicator situates his own accomplishments within the canonical Athenian catalogue of myth/historical victories. This could only operate by contrasting and characterizing the adversaries, especially since the victors would likely be shown as idealized divine or heroic warrior figures. Indeed, the copies that have been identified, perhaps for this very reason, include only the defeated.

The Pergamum dedications should date, based on the events commemorated, around 230–220, and a number of Roman statues are believed to copy Gauls from these monuments. The most patently post-Lysippic is the Ludovisi Gaul (Figure 13.10), who commits suicide by sword after having saved his wife from capture by taking her life as well. The structure of the group is pyramidal, like the Tyche of Antioch; like the Apoxyomenus, it forces the viewer to move around in order to fully see, and understand, the action. Neither of the earlier works, however, displays such emotion. The implied narrative is highly dramatic, emphasized by contrasting the heroic physiognomy of the Gallic warrior with the limp, lifeless figure of his wife. The bulging musculature of the Gaul is less un-Classical than an exaggeration of Classical form. Similarly, his face is essentially idealized with deeply set eyes, in the manner of the fourth century, and his chiaroscural leonine hairstyle both captures the passion of the scene and evokes the heroism of Alexander and the Hellenistic kings. The Gaul is presented here as a more than worthy adversary, making Attalus' success in driving him back from the Greek cities of western Anatolia a heroic accomplishment in itself.

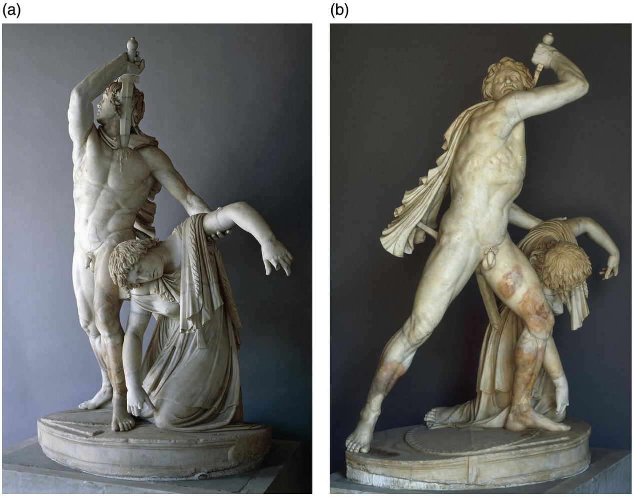


Figure 13.10 Ludovisi Gaul. Possible marble copy of figure from Attalid victory monument of circa 220. Rome, National Museum, Palazzo Altemps. H. 6′ 11″ (2.11 m).

Source: (a) akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah; (b) akg-images/Nimatallah.

This manipulation, and especially exaggeration, of the Classical for the purpose of heightened emotional effect is the very definition of a trend in the art of the Hellenistic monarchies that is commonly called "Baroque," by analogy with similar tendencies that occur in Italian sculpture and painting of the seventeenth century CE. It has, rightly or wrongly, been especially associated with Pergamum. That it was already a well-established stylistic option across the Mediterranean at the time of Attalus' dedications is shown by its use on limestone tomb sculptures in the South Italian polis of Taras in the early third century. Another Hellenistic elaboration of a Late Classical trend can be seen in the characterization of this figure as a Gaul, through the addition of identifying features such as his mustache (a sign of Gaulish nobility) and bushy eyebrows, just as Mausolus had been shown to be Asiatic by his hairstyle and short-cropped beard.

The Capitoline Gaul, another Roman statue thought to copy a figure from the same Attalid monuments, provides a more exaggerated, and somewhat less heroic, version (Figure 13.11). This figure is wounded, blood spurting from his ribcage, and collapses in death onto battle equipment that he himself dropped as he fell – shield, sword, and trumpet. Pliny mentions a trumpeter by Epigonus, whose signature is preserved on one of the Pergamene bases. The similarities and differences between the two Gauls are striking. The Capitoline figure is also torsional and three dimensional, his torso and legs facing in strongly diverging directions. His expression is more agonized, as he is further along than the other in the transition from trauma to death. He too wears the mustache, but also the Gallic torque around his neck. Moreover, his mane of locks stands straight out from the head, reflecting the recorded Gaulish practice of soaking the hair in limewater in order to fashion it into this intimidating form. The marked realism relative to the other has caused some to see it as a Roman work, but at least one figure thought to copy the small Gauls in Athens seems to quote this one, so it could well be earlier. If both copy Attalus' monument, the distinction demonstrates how Hellenistic sculptors selectively and imaginatively drew on the increasingly varied stylistic trends of the Classical era and applied them as appropriate to the newly important subjects and themes of their own world.

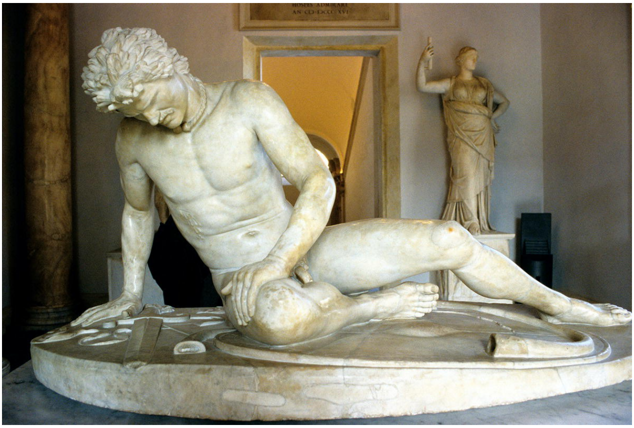


Figure 13.11 Capitoline Gaul. Possible marble copy of figure from Attalid victory monument of circa 220. Rome, Capitoline Museum. H. 3′ 1″ (0.93 m).

Source: © Adam Eastland Art + Architecture/Alamy.

Two Early Hellenistic Originals

These post-Lysippic public works, like those of Lysippus himself, are known only from copies. As for originals, we largely lack two sources of information that expanded our body of evidence for the Classical period. First, representational architectural sculptures, and especially narrative scenes, were rare in the third century, and second, in 317 grave reliefs were outlawed in Athens by sumptuary policies of Demetrius of Phalerum. Votive reliefs continue, but they only occasionally achieve the scale or quality of their Late Classical predecessors. Private statuary dedications also continue, and they increasingly include portraits in addition to the traditional deities and idealized athletes. As in the previous period bronze is preferred to marble, so rates of preservation are not high, yet a few extant examples in both materials can be attributed to the early Hellenistic period on the basis of style.

In the small temple next to that of Nemesis at Rhamnous was found a well over life-size Pentelic marble statue of a draped female. Names of the artist (Chaerestratus) and the dedicator (Megacles), both Rhamnians, are provided by the inscribed base (Figure 13.12). It was dedicated to Themis (Order), who, like Nemesis herself, was both goddess and personification. Given its scale, it doubtlessly represents Themis herself. The juxtaposition of the two personifications functions as an allegory (divine retribution = cosmic order), in keeping with the iconographic and conceptual developments of the time.

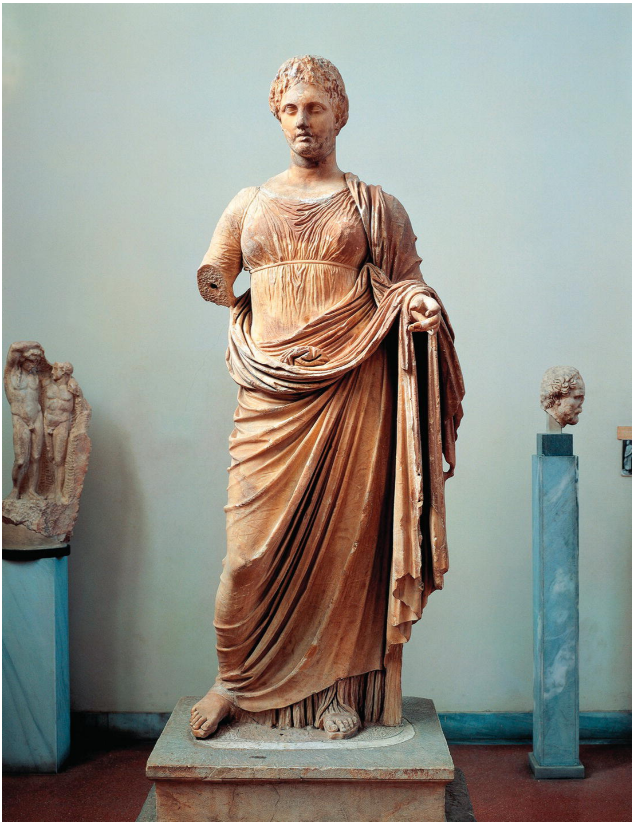


Figure 13.12 Chaerestratus. Themis from Rhamnous. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 231. Marble. Circa 300. H. 7′ 3″ (2.22 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti.

The statue, extraordinarily well preserved, is decidedly traditional and conservative, even Classicizing. The garment, a thin chiton under a heavy wrapped himation, is commonly found on Attic personifications of the fourth century, including both statuary and figures on document reliefs. A close parallel can be seen in the large female statue from the Mausoleum ("Artemisia") who sports a similar garment. The Themis bears many features of the fourth century – deeply set eyes, impressionistically carved hair, strongly contrasting fold treatments on the two garments, press folds in the himation, and an obscuring approach to the heavy drapery over the legs whereby the pose is described through linear pattern rather than revealed by the outlines of modeling folds. There is an angular, almost geometric quality to the fold pattern, and a somewhat illogical bunch of drapery rests like a sponge in the loop of drapery across her hips and left forearm. The chiton is girt just under the breasts, marking the culmination of a continuously upward trend in that feature from the fifth through the fourth century. The shoulder cord that complements the girdle has been proposed as an attribute of this goddess, embodying the idea of restraint and control that one associates with order. The high girding itself continues into the Hellenistic period, when it enhances the characteristic upwardly tapering, narrow-shouldered proportions of heavily draped females. The overall effect of the Themis is that of a derivative and mannered work, as though the Late Classical devices were retained without being rethought.

A male counterpart to Themis' classicism can be sought in a bronze athlete fished from the Adriatic and currently in the Getty Villa (Figure 13.13). Roughly life size, this probably commemorates a victory won at Olympia since he crowns himself with an olive wreath. The pose is Lysippic, with its upper body oriented toward the free leg, and superficially similar to that of another athlete figure – the Agias, although the upraised right arm and more sharply displaced left foot are among the features that make the Getty figure at once more frontal and, paradoxically, more animated. In keeping with its likely early Hellenistic date, the figure, despite its idealism, characterizes its subject's youth through the soft modeling of the musculature, delicate facial features, and slender proportions. He seems at once younger than Agias and a different sort of athlete – a runner rather than a **pancratiast**. He thus merges the androgynous qualities of Praxitelean youths with the athletic/heroic ideals of Lysippus, although the mix is unequal, since the latter dominates. Several athlete statues are attributed to Lysippus' followers, and this may have come from such a workshop.

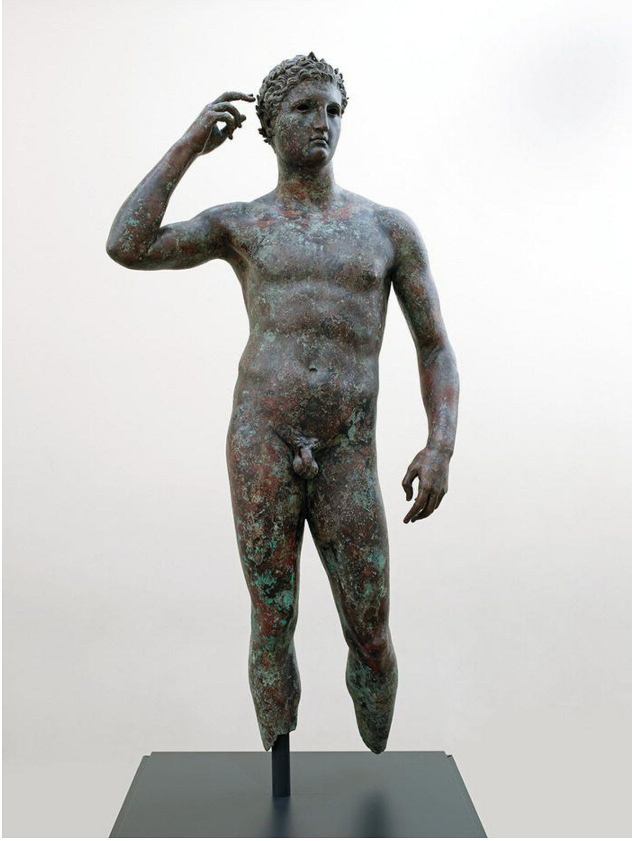


Figure 13.13 “Victorious” youth. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AB.30. Bronze. Early third century, or later(?). H. 5′ (1.51 m).

Source: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Change and Continuity in Early Hellenistic Sculpture

Within the short space of a decade or so, the political, economic, and social structures of the eastern Mediterranean were utterly transformed. Alexander was and always has been larger than life, his accomplishments construed as a historical, and art historical, watershed. A definitive distinction between Classical and Hellenistic sculpture has long been assumed, and many attempts made to identify it in concrete terms. The structures commonly used to organize and thereby explain Hellenistic art are largely the result of *a priori* reasoning, derived from the various categories of historical development: geographic, political, and social.

With vast areas and disparate cultures collected and "Hellenized" under Macedonian control, one might assume, and seek, hybridization in art, where Greek features are blended with those of native cultures. While such works exist, for example Ptolemaic portraits in pharaonic form, they tend to be limited both in function and location, favored especially in more remote regions where they are intended to address a native population. In the political sphere, the change from a polis system to a monarchy might lead one to expect an entirely new range of functions and subject matter for public art. Again, this is true only to an extent. Hellenistic kings ruled as monarchs largely in areas where monarchs had ruled before; in the Greek world traditional governments, at a local level at least, continued largely unchanged. Moreover, the monarchic iconography and monument types that kingship did bring to the fore were not entirely without precedent in the Classical world and had certainly been fully developed by Macedonians before the end of the fourth century. Geographic structures of organization that seek to separate the artistic realms of the several kingdoms, therefore, fail to meet the expectations of those who apply them. Art changed far less than one might expect in the third and second centuries, and the changes that do occur are much better understood within a social than a geographical or political context.

The Hellenistic period was one that centered on the cosmopolitan city, not the culturally homogeneous polis, which itself became more heterogeneous at this time. Across the Hellenistic Mediterranean the audience for visual culture was thus far more diverse than in the preceding epoch, marking a major change that did not break the continuity of artistic development but rather determined the ways in which Classical traditions were adapted to new circumstances. The resulting pluralistic system of contemporaneously existing styles, detected already in these early works, develops further in the following centuries, as the Hellenistic kingdoms were taken over by Rome, becoming provinces in her growing empire. Indeed, Hellenistic sculpture is best preserved and best understood through its adoption by Roman conquerors – a process aptly characterized by Horace (*Ep*. II.i, 156–157.): *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio* ("Conquered Greece took captive her savage conqueror and brought her arts into rustic Latium"). It is with these "savage conquerors" that we now conclude our account.

Box The Nike of Samothrace and Hellenistic Chronology

The most famous of all Hellenistic sculptures greets thousands of visitors daily from its conspicuous perch on a grand staircase in the Louvre (Figure 13.14). The statue is relatively well preserved (although now substantially restored), and much is known about the nature of its ancient display, but neither its date nor the circumstances of its dedication is well established. It was found in 1863 during excavation of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace, with further fragments unearthed thereafter. This large statue of a winged Nike in Parian marble rests on a base in the form of a ship's prow, carved from a bluish-grey stone. It must have been set up to celebrate a significant naval victory. The material of the ship/base points to Rhodes, a naval power early in the Hellenistic period. Connection to Demetrius Poliorcetes is inferred from his coins showing a similar Nike on a ship's prow. Two contexts are often proposed – the victory of Demetrius over Ptolemy I at Cypriot Salamis in 306 and those won by Rhodes over Antiochus III in 190. Many other suggestions have also been offered, involving nearly every stage of the Hellenistic period, and many possible dedicators, including the Samothracians themselves, have been proposed.

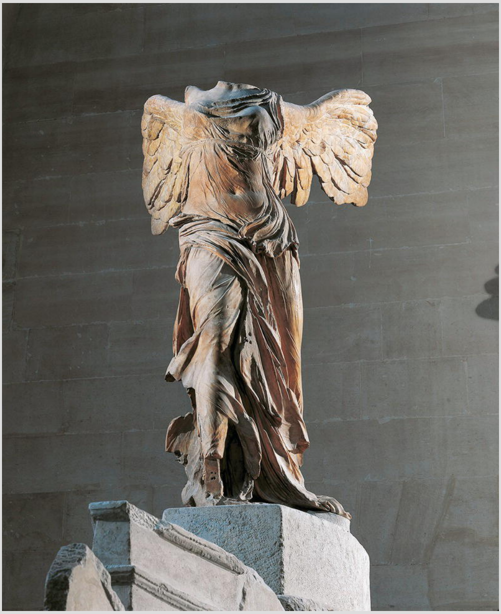


Figure 13.14 Nike of Samothrace. Paris, Louvre. Marble. Third or second(?) century. H. 8′ 1″ (2.45 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library.

The statue retains characteristics of the High and Late Classical periods. It is an exaggerated, melodramatic version of Paeonius’ Nike, to which it owes its basic pose, its wet clinging drapery at once covering and revealing the body, and its masses of impossibly heavy fabric fluttering behind. The ogival fold patterns outlining the abdomen and framing the upper left thigh are clear visual quotes. Typical of the fourth century are the masses of concealing drapery, rendered by sharply colliding linear patterns that emphasize by contrast the smooth, more diaphanous areas. The resulting illusion of Late Classical torsion within a frontal pose invites the viewer to move around the statue, recalling other Lysippic and post-Lysippic works and supporting a connection with Demetrius. Dates in the second century, on the other hand, are based on the dramatic, “baroque” quality of the statue. Such visual drama is conventionally assigned to the second century, but its roots stretch back through the third and into the fourth.

Historical explanations can be found to support all suggested dates. The sanctuary had an intimate connection with the Argead dynasty, so Samothrace was an ideal spot for Demetrius to assert his claim to the throne of Macedonia. At the other end of the Antigonid dynasty comes Perseus' capture by the Romans (on Samothrace!) after the battle of Pydna in 168. It has been argued that the Nike was set up by the king's captor, naval commander Gnaeus Octavius, to mark Rome's decisive victory in the Second Macedonian War, which left Rome unquestioned mistress of the Mediterranean. If this were the case, perhaps Demetrius' coins show a similar, now lost, monument for Salamis, perhaps in bronze, which this and similar Hellenistic dedications (which are known) were meant to reference.

That such contrasting dates and interpretations can be cogently argued demonstrates the difficulty in using style to date Hellenistic sculpture. It was a time when varying stylistic trends were used for different purposes. Each was rooted in the Classical era and applied through revival, imitation, variation, and exaggeration. Given the availability of this stylistic "palette," the virtuosity of its practitioners, the ambition and resources of its patrons, and the emerging forms and functions of monumental sculpture, the problem is not so much our difficulty in dating Hellenistic sculpture on the basis of style, as it is the assumption that such a thing is possible at all. Indeed, if there is a distinction to be made between the sculpture of Hellenistic Greece and that of earlier periods, it is in the significantly changed relationships among style, function, meaning, and chronology – the Hellenistic world's primary artistic legacy to Rome.

14

Sculpture in Hellenistic Greece II: Greek Styles and Roman Taste (circa 200–50)

Rome was not built in a day, but its conquest of the Mediterranean was, in retrospect, stunningly quick. While the ruling dynasties of the Hellenistic kingdoms remained Macedonian to the end, they apparently forgot the example of their glorious predecessor Philip II. Those who ignore history are doomed to repeat it, and just as the quarreling among the Greek city-states opened the door for Macedonian conquest, so the conflicting interests that separated the interrelated royal houses at Antioch, Alexandria, Pella, and Pergamum enabled the Romans to establish an order in the eastern Mediterranean that would best serve only themselves. After the Diadochs, no king seriously aspired to the sole throne of Alexander, but jockeying for position, especially on the Mediterranean shores, was incessant. Pergamum extended its power across western Anatolia by protecting the Greek cities from marauding Gauls. The Seleucids resisted this expansion, with varying success, and at the end of the third century Antiochus III (the Great) turned eastward, nearly re-creating the vast holdings of his dynasty's founder. He had also to contest with the Ptolemies for control of the Levant. Kings from all three dynasties involved themselves in affairs of Greece, invoking the earlier "liberations" by Philip and Alexander and, like them, appropriating the still strong cultural prestige of the Hellenic city-states. In Greece itself local administrative structures persisted, and leagues of cities (most notably the Aetolian and Achaean) also continued to exist. Yet they were largely compelled to tolerate the authority of the Antigonid kings, who controlled the region through a system of garrisons, especially those at Corinth, Piraeus, Chalcis, and Demetrias – the "fetters of Greece," as Poliorcetes had named them.

It was as a result of such disputes that Roman armies first crossed the Adriatic. During the Second Punic War Rome sent a force against Philip V of Macedon to prevent his lending assistance to the Carthaginians. In this First Macedonian War, Rome was allied with Attalus of Pergamum, a relationship that would continue to benefit both partners. Just two years after emerging victorious from the long and devastating war with Hannibal, Roman troops were again sent eastward. Philip, now allied with Antiochus, was exploiting weakness in Ptolemaic Egypt and threatening the interests of Pergamum, Athens, and Rhodes, who turned to Rome for assistance. Rome, whether out of loyalty to her allies or because she already envisioned her future position as adjudicator among the contending parties, issued an ultimatum to Philip to cease and desist. He could hardly accede and still function as an independent king; the Second Macedonian War resulted. In 198, after two years of indecisive efforts, Rome entrusted command to the youthful philhellenic proconsul T. Quinctius Flamininus, who pursued the campaign with vigor. In the following year, he defeated Philip at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly, proving the superiority of the flexible Roman legion over the Macedonian phalanx. Philip surrendered all his holdings outside Macedonia as well as his navy and paid a heavy indemnity to Rome.

In 196 Flamininus attended the games at Isthmia and declared the Greek cities free; like his royal predecessors in this performance, he was soon involved in their age-old pattern of conflict. Antiochus the Great, the only remaining king with sufficient strength to do so, attempted to free them yet again. He was defeated at Thermopylae by the Romans, who then pursued their advantage and defeated the remaining Syrian forces on land and at sea. The treaty of Apamea in 189 placed Antiochus in a situation analogous to Philip’s. Rome rewarded its allies accordingly; Eumenes II (r. 197–159) now controlled western Anatolia, Rhodes became even more pre-eminent across the Aegean, and there followed a cultural, and artistic, flourishing in both centers.

A decade later Philip’s successor Perseus revived the expansionist ambitions of his father and similarly enjoyed successes that were ended by the advent of a competent Roman commander. Defeated at Pydna by L. Amilius Paullus in 168, Perseus fled the battlefield and was captured at Samothrace (see box in Chapter 13). The Antigonid dynasty of Macedonia was therefore the first to expire, its kingdom replaced by four client republics; it would be another two decades before Macedonia (148) and Greece (146) were organized as provinces ruled by Roman governors. The loyal Attalids continued to rule, but the last of the line, Attalus III, upon his death in 133 willed to Rome his entire kingdom – thereafter the province of Asia. It would be another century before Syria (63) and Egypt (30) met similar fates, but following Pydna, Roman rule was an established reality – in fact if not in name – throughout the Hellenistic world.

Sculpture and Classicism at the time of the Roman Conquest

The artistic culture that the Romans encountered in Macedonia, Greece, and Greek Asia Minor during the conflicts with Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus was largely unchanged from that outlined in the previous chapter. Classical traditions continued to serve as a source of imagery and attitudes that were adapted to the complex climate of the Hellenistic world. The Romans at this time were not as ignorant of Greek art as Horace suggests. Greek imports had reached Italian shores centuries earlier. During the Second Punic War, M. Claudius Marcellus had famously denuded Greek Syracuse of many works that were then conspicuously displayed in Rome; we hear much the same about the parade of treasures in the triumphal processions of Flamininus and Scipo Asiaticus, victor over Antiochus. Large-scale commercial importation of artworks seems to have occurred only after the victory of Aemilius Paullus, at which point the floodgates opened, and the impact of Roman patronage became palpable. For the first third of this century, however, the dynasties of the Diadochoi remained intact and artwork was still Hellenistic in every respect. Late Classical characterization and dramatic emotionalism, in their Early Hellenistic exaggerated version, were especially embraced by the Romans, since “baroque” and “realistic” styles were well suited to the commemorative and decorative art for which Rome would come to be known. However, these styles could only bear meaning as alternatives to a co-existing classical idealism, which was still alive and well in the early second century.

For us, the best-known sculptor of this era was Damophon of Messene. It is not surprising that his name is absent from Pliny's lists of artistic luminaries, since his *floruit* falls solidly within the encyclopedist's "dead" period (see box). Pausanias, alone of literary sources, mentions his works, mentioning no fewer than ten marble (Parian, Pentelic, and local), wooden, and acrolithic statue groups; many were "cultic" in function or manner of display, and all were in the Peloponnese. Epigraphical evidence shows that his works also extended north to Locris, west to Leukas, and east to the Cyclades. His reputation is attested by his winning a commission to repair the wondrous Phidian Zeus at Olympia. Owing to misconceptions about Hellenistic classicism, Damophon's activity has traditionally been placed in the last stage of the Hellenistic period, associated with Pliny's rebirth of art. His work on the Zeus (after an earthquake in 183), it was believed, caused him to embrace a Classicizing style. However, an honorific inscription in his hometown of Messene, where the largest corpus of his work was displayed, indicates that the height of his activity was in the late third and early second centuries. Thus it was his expertise as a classicist that led to his commission at Olympia, now seen as the culmination rather than birth of his career.

Box *Ars revixit*, Hellenistic Classicism, and Roman Patronage

Immediately after listing the sculptors identified as followers of Lysippus, whom he dates to the 121st Olympiad, Pliny interjects "cessavit deinde ars ac rursus Olympiade CLVI revixit" ("Thereafter art ceased and returned again in the 166th Olympiad") (*NH* 34.52). This is among Pliny's most discussed comments on sculpture, yet there is no agreement about what Pliny felt to have ceased in the 290s only to come back in the middle of the second century. It certainly was not the art of bronze statuary, Pliny's topic at that point in his treatise, since that continued unabated and continuously down to and beyond the end of the Hellenistic period. Some postulate that Pliny refers here to a change in bronze-casting technique (which is a plausible translation of *ars*), and others observe that this gap coincides with a hiatus between Pliny's two sets of sources, Xenokrates and Antigonus in the third century and Pasiteles in the early first.

Whatever Pliny's meaning was, the comment, probably owing to the revivalist connotation of *revixit*, has often prompted the position that the later Hellenistic period constitutes a characteristically Classicizing phase. Pliny, in this reading, refers to a Classical idealism that perished after the post-Lysippan era, was succeeded by a period of "baroque" characterization and drama, and was replaced by a consciously retrospective Archaizing and Classicizing phase driven by Roman patronage. This last stage, then, constitutes the resuscitation of art to which Pliny refers. This tripartite scheme, which stands behind virtually every proposed chronology of Hellenistic sculpture, is rooted in the basic fallacy that something like the organic process of stylistic development that one can extract from a study of Archaic and Classical art continues into and through the Hellenistic period. It is structured by two further, equally fallacious, assumptions: that the "baroque" is a style phase of the late third and early second centuries and that conscious Classicism occurs only after the defeat of Perseus in 168. In actuality, both styles represent a direct outgrowth of Late Classical developments already present in the third and even later fourth centuries; thus neither is an invention of, or solely characteristic of, a particular phase of Hellenism.

One cannot deny the impact on artistic production in the Greek-speaking east when domination by the Antigonids and Attalids was replaced by that of the Romans. Economically, rather than deprivation, there was a new sense of stability with the decline in internecine warfare and the rise of a potent force to keep the Aegean safe for trade. Increasingly prosperous Romans – not only the famous patrician generals, but also wealthy equestrian merchants – provided a market for Hellenic goods, including art, on an unprecedented scale. As for the art itself, Romans purchased and commissioned works in all the myriad styles that had emerged in the previous century, including, but by no means limited to, Classicism. The Romans famously brought back booty, including a plethora of Classical bronze statues, which formed part of the triumphal procession and were thereafter displayed as lasting signifiers of the victor's great deeds. They also commissioned Greek architects to create new public works such as temples and porticoes, and Greek artists filled them with newly made portraits, ideal statuary, and triumphal paintings in order to complement the displays of plunder. In addition, many new works (a cross-section is provided by the Mahdia wreck) served as markers of status within the villas and atrium houses of the many who now could afford them. In this way Hellenistic art became Roman, and Roman art became Hellenistic, a process that resulted in the cultural continuation of the Hellenistic world for the following millennium. We will never know if this constituted the rebirth of art to which Pliny refers, but it must have been a part of it.

Damophon's classicism is best illustrated by the group of Demeter and Despoina (Kore) erected in their temple at Arcadian Lycosoura. The attribution is attested both by Pausanias (8.37.3–5) and by the aforementioned inscription, which places this work before 190; a local coin type preserves the composition. The two colossal goddesses, enthroned, are flanked by standing statues of Artemis and the Titan Anytus. Three of the four heads are well preserved. Artemis wears the "melon coiffure," popularized by the imagery of Ptolemaic queens and an Early Hellenistic, stylized version of a fourth-century hairstyle (Figure 14.1). Her face, however, has the heavy proportions and planar surfaces typical of the High Classical, although a certain softness around the mouth looks later, and her eyes are deeply set. Her pendant is similarly mixed in style (Figure 14.2). He has the broad flat face and heavy mouth of a Classical figure, but the strong articulation of facial surfaces, cheeks and forehead alike, is consistent with the characterization portraiture of the late fourth century. The difference in styles here captures the distinction between Olympian and Titan, and also female and male, since the same gendered contrast exists in Hellenistic portraiture. A significant corpus of sculpture from the Messene sanctuary can be associated with Damophon from its similarity to the Lycosoura group, and many works there are known to be from his workshop. Accepting this attribution, one obtains a similar yet more complete impression of his oeuvre, which consists of stylistically updated versions of each stage of the Classical, from early to late. The classicism of Damophon is not the product of a late and superficial retrospective borrowing or empty eclecticism, but rather the product of an intellectual milieu originating a century earlier at the Library of Alexandria, when the literary achievements of the preceding Classical era were studied, categorized, and assimilated in a self-conscious process of allusion and adaptation.

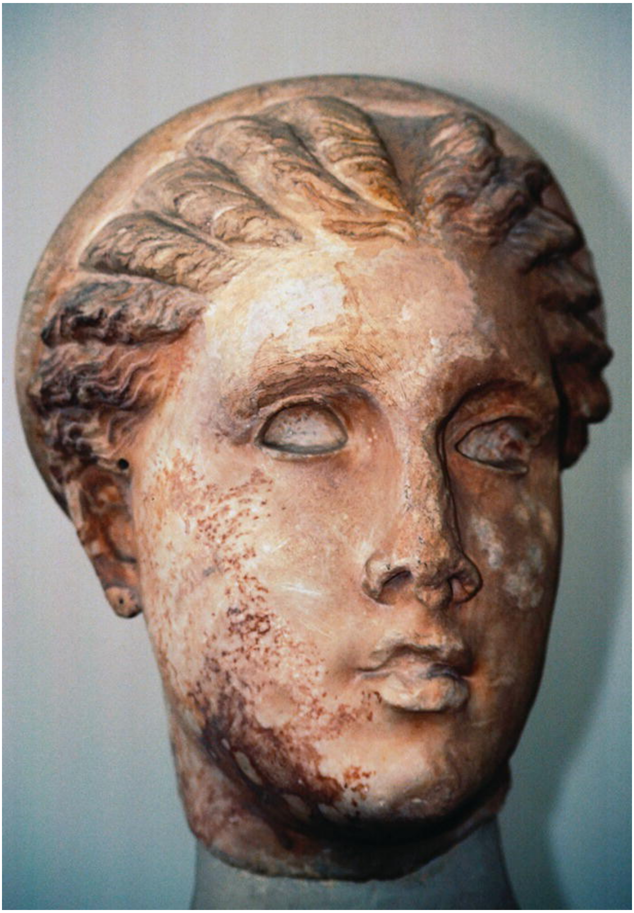


Figure 14.1 Lycosoura, Temple of Demeter and Despoina. Artemis from cult statue group. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1734. Marble. Circa 200. H. 1′ 6″ (0.46 m).

Source: akg-images/John Hios.

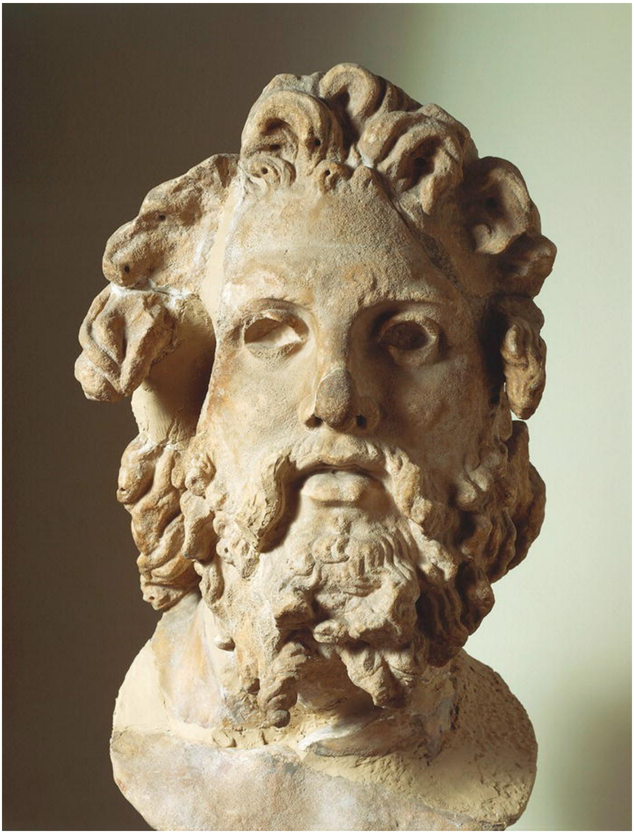


Figure 14.2 Lycosoura, Temple of Demeter and Despoina. Anytus from cult statue group. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Marble. 1736. Circa 200. H. 2′ 5″ (0.74 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah.

Around the same time that Damophon was active in Greece, the Attalid kings followed the Alexandrian example by building their own library. Adjacent to the temenos of Athena Polias, library and cult served together as homage to the cultural traditions of Athens rather than to any Ptolemaic precedent. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the main hall of the library was dominated by an image of the goddess, in a form that was anything but subtle in its invocation of the Periclean golden age (Figure 14.3). Its model, of course, is the Parthenos of Phidias, which it follows in pose, attribute, and garment; should the reference not be sufficiently obvious, the base bears relief figures taken from the

Athenian original. Yet the intent was not to replicate the Parthenos but to reinterpret it in the visual vocabulary of Attalid Pergamum. The weight shift is similar but her posture is more animated. The drapery folds, the pattern of which follows the earlier work fold for fold, are rendered in an entirely different style, with deeper cutting and more textured surfaces. The broad face and simple hairstyle retain the Olympian dignity for which Phidias was famous, but softer flesh and deeper eyes create an effect closer to that of Damophon's works. The Attalid program to construct Pergamum as the rightful successor to Athens, cultural mecca and liberator of the Ionian Greeks, was multi-faceted, involving commissions in both cities. The style of this Athena, more evocative than reiterative, was one part of the strategy.

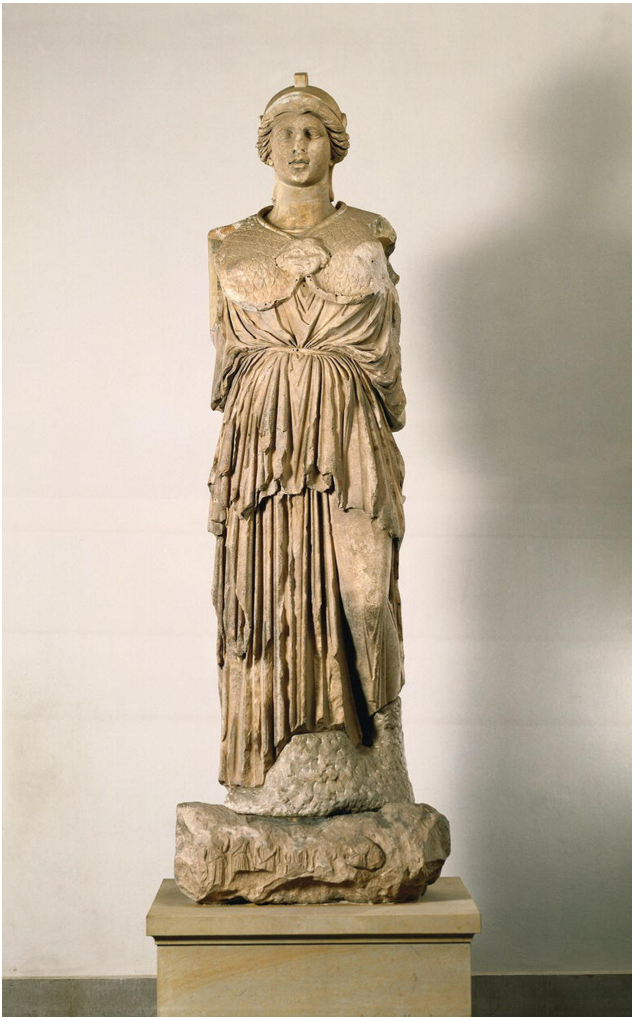


Figure 14.3 Athena from Library at Pergamum. Berlin, Pergamum Museum P24. Marble. Circa 180. H. 10′ 2″ (3.1 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence/bpk, Bildagentur fuer Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin.

Hellenistic Sculpture as an Art of the Romans – Three Case Studies

In his behavior toward artworks after Pydna, Aemilius Paullus acted in conspicuously and traditionally Roman ways, in both the land of the conquered and the home of the conqueror. He appropriated Perseus' monument at Delphi and substituted his own portrait above its classicizing battle frieze, giving clear notice to the Greeks that the Romans, not the Macedonians, were now to be obeyed. On his yearlong tour of Greece he seized a spectacular quantity of goods for his triumphal procession; one full day and 250 wagons were needed for the display of artwork alone. He brought back to Greece a ship of Perseus' filled with opulent booty from the Macedonian palace and sailed it up the Tiber. There were signs, however that his interest in things Greek was not limited to their role as superficial signifiers of his conquest. He could commission works as well as plunder them. He enlisted the Athenian artist/scholar Metrodorus to both execute his triumphal paintings and tutor his sons, and among the goods he took from Perseus' palace was its entire library, no doubt for the same purpose. By mid-century not just Greek sculpture but Greek sculptors would be brought to Rome, hired to produce new cult images (in Classical style) for temples erected to commemorate the conquest of their homeland. Rome was appropriating not just the objects and resources of the Hellenistic world, but its entire culture.

The sculpture of the subsequent "Late Hellenistic" era does not actually constitute the *final* chapter in the history of Greek sculpture; sculpture that is by any definition Greek continues to be created for centuries thereafter. Is does, nonetheless, mark an important transition and thus a stopping point that is both logical and conventional. Because of its complexity and its importance to the study of both Greek and Roman art, the topic is an enormous one. It is here possible only to present a few case studies in an attempt to illuminate some of the major issues.

Baroque Narrative: The Pergamum Altar, the Laocoon, and Sperlonga

The so-called Pergamum Altar, probably the most famous of Hellenistic sculptured monuments and the one most apt to be put forth as typifying a category of art that defies simple illustration, is generally associated with a "middle" stage of Hellenistic art. Epigraphical evidence suggests (but does not require) a date in the long reign of Eumenes II; its placement early in that period is a supposition, rooted in the desire to associate it with a "great victory," such as that over Antiochus III in 190, from which Pergamum especially benefited. The building's foundation pottery, however, suggests a date some 30 years later. If a military victory is needed, and there is nothing about the monument that suggests that it is, it could have been that over Perseus, which was just as much a boon to Pergamum, or Eumenes' celebrated victories over the Gauls in the years following Pydna. The work would have lasted for years, and the building was never entirely finished; many scholars believe construction continued as late as the time of Attalus II's death in 138. By the definition used here, this is a Late Hellenistic work.

Enormous, elaborate, and conspicuous, this structure passed virtually without mention throughout antiquity. We do not know what it was, or what it was called. The traditional designation "Altar of Zeus" derives from its pi-shaped form, the presumed presence of a sacrificial altar in the structure's central courtyard, and the perceived prominence of that god on its larger frieze; an equally plausible suggestion sees it as an Attalid victory monument and/or heroon of Telephus, anointed by the Attalids as the heroic founder of Pergamum in order to construct a false pedigree for a city not established until the early third century. This foundation myth is the subject of the smaller frieze that occupied a portico atop the structure, surrounding it on three sides (Figure 14.4). We have noted the increasingly perceptual and pictorial effects that sculptors adopted in the Late Classical period, but no surviving Greek relief sculpture looks as much like a painting as this, beginning with its location on the back wall of a stoa. Its prominent landscape features, suggestion of spatial recession by different ground lines and diminution of scale, and use of continuous narration are all features that are native to the craft of painting. Yet the relief is not low, and many of the figures seem solidly sculptural. Heracles is seen here in a version of his "weary" type, famously represented by the colossal Farnese version and other replicas. If not, as generally thought, an actual Lysippan creation, its three-dimensional form and contemplative mood are at least Lysippic and underscore the formal roots of this frieze in the Early Hellenistic artistic milieu.

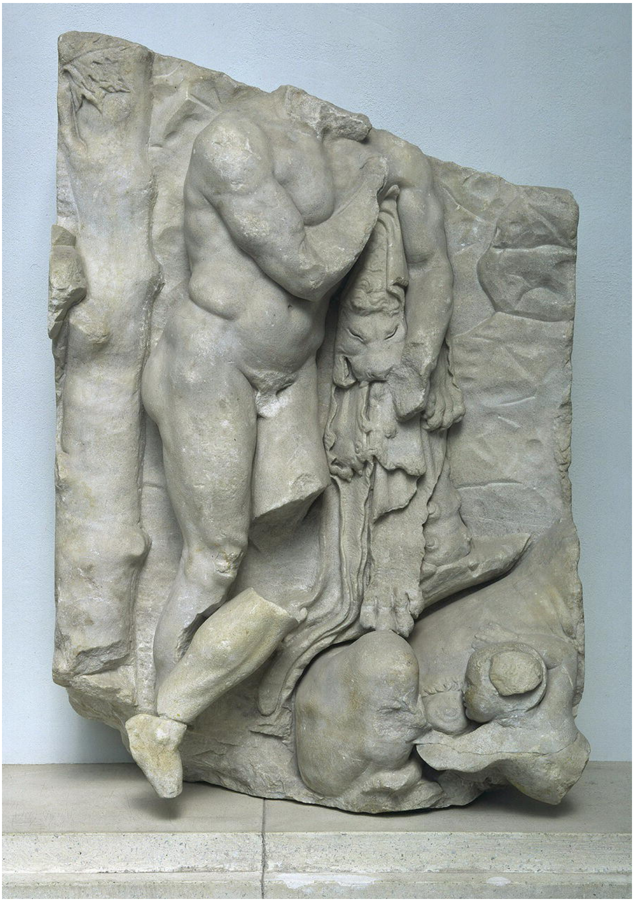
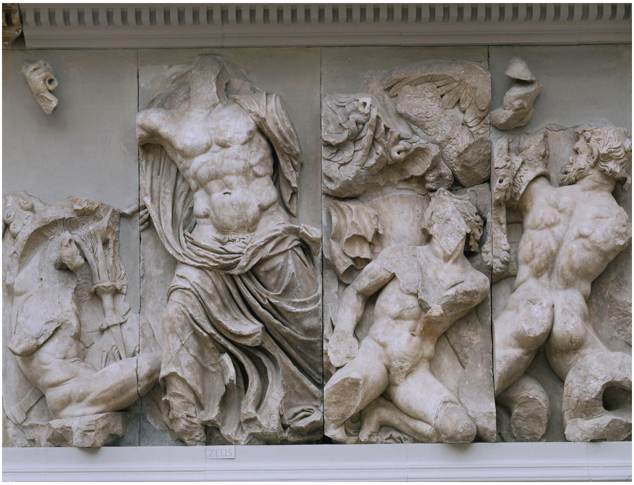


Figure 14.4 Heracles and Telephus. Telephus Frieze. Pergamum Altar. Berlin, Pergamum Museum. Marble. Circa 160 H. 5′ 2″(1.58 m).

Source: © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence/bpk, Bildagentur fuer Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin.

The dominant element, however, was the lower, external frieze, a truly gigantic Gigantomachy displayed just above eye level, but on the scale of the Parthenon pediments. The superhuman dimensions of the combatants work together with a dramatic, “baroque” variation on Classical style and subject matter. The forms and fold patterns are those of High Classical Athens, while the proportions and the giants' facial expressions employ the dramatic devices of the Late Classical era. Each exaggerates the forms of its models, through impossibly deep carving and vivid chiaroscuro, far more so than do the Gauls displayed by Eumenes' father on the Athena terrace above. The effect is riveting and the message universal, but the story does not end there. The Athena (Figure 14.5) quotes, in reverse, her counterpart on the Parthenon's West Pediment and the Zeus in the adjacent scene recalls the Poseidon, like Heracles and Hippolyta on the Bassae frieze. As with Attalus' dedication on the Acropolis, this monument situates itself in the tradition of Periclean Athens, one of many elements of the Pergamene acropolis that sought to connect the traditions of the two very different cities. Yet the message only works in the mind of a viewer familiar with the referent. Similarly, the myth as it is spelled out here has been shown to blend very ancient, Hesiodic versions with those of contemporary scholar/poets. One can imagine readers from the nearby library strolling along the frieze and arguing the source material during study breaks. For the less initiate, every figure is labeled. This monument illustrates perhaps better than any other the accommodation of a heterogeneous audience that distinguishes Hellenistic art from Classical.



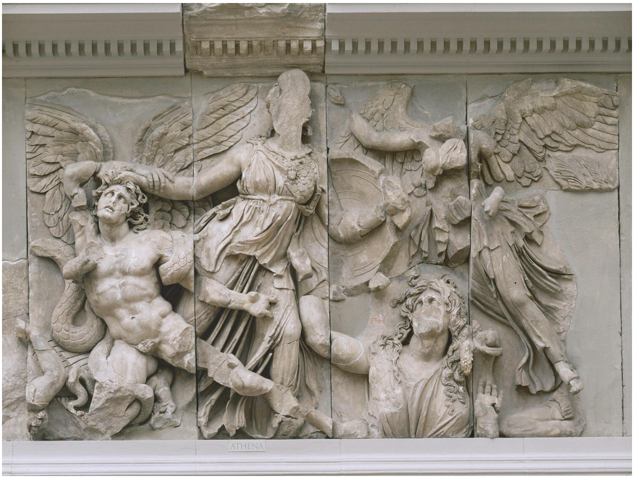


Figure 14.5 Zeus and Athena scenes, Gigantomachy Frieze. Pergamum Altar. Berlin, Pergamum Museum. Marble. Circa 160. H. 7′ 7″(2.3 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

The Pergamum Altar has long justified the identification of “baroque” as the defining characteristic of a “middle” Hellenistic period, but the style clearly originates in the third century and continues into the “late” phase following Pydna. The Romans, moreover, embraced the style of the altar as eagerly as they adopted the Classicizing tradition of the Athena nearby. The contrasts, and similarities, between the two styles operated through a mutually defining process – a play between polarities that had long been at the core of a characteristically Greek strategy for conceiving the phenomenal world. Reversing the method of Cicero and Quintilian, the distinction between “Attic” and “Asiatic” rhetoric can serve as an illustrative metaphor. These terms oppose the pure, simple, and restrained quality of the former to the elaborate, ornate, and emotionally charged force of the latter. Both were, as in art, contemporaneous models from the Classical era on, since Asianism originates in the illusionist argumentation of fifth-century sophists, who lived side by side with the great Attic orators. As in sculptural style, each had its strengths, each had its appropriate usage, and, once each became an option, neither was meaningful without the immanence of the other.

The most obvious quotation of the altar in all of ancient statuary is also the most famous, the group of Laocoon and his sons excavated in Rome in 1506 and embraced by luminaries ranging from Michelangelo to Winckelmann as a consummate expression of ancient Greek pathos (Figure 14.6). Because of its fame, and its emotionally gripping theme, its subject is doubtlessly the best-known episode from Virgil's *Aeneid*. Laocoon was a Trojan priest who rightly warned his fellow citizens not to bring the great wooden horse within the citadel walls. Determined that the Greeks should prevail, Athena dispatches her snakes to ensnare the doomed prophet and his sons. The Trojans interpret the sign exactly as the goddess intended, suffering less by their own folly than from divine treachery.

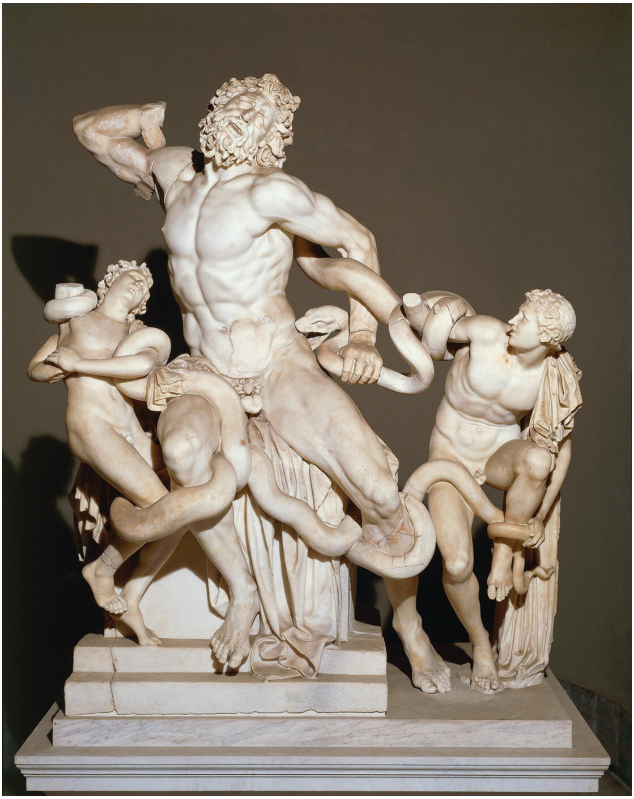


Figure 14.6 Laocoon and His Sons. Vatican City, Vatican Museums, Belvedere 1059, 1064, 1067. Marble. Late first century (or later?). H. 6′ (1.84 m).

Source: akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library/V. Pirozzi.

One can see at a glance the relationship of the figure of Laocoon to that of Alcyoneus on the altar. Both the dramatic exaggeration of style and the figural quote imbue the later figure with the pathos of the former; each is tormented by both snakes and Athena's wrath, although the goddess, in the case of Laocoon, is present only in the mind of a knowledgeable viewer. With this insight alone can it be truly understood that the agony of Laocoon is but partly due to his current physical misfortune, as considerable as that must have been. The real suffering, not only of Laocoon, but also of his children, his Trojan comrades, indeed, all mankind, is the faithlessness of the Olympians and mankind's inability to elude fate. The exaggerated emotionalism of the style is, of course, appropriate to the subject in ways that any viewer can comprehend, but the deeper theme of the work may only occur to one who ponders the story on a broader scale prompted, consciously or not, by the intertextuality of the visual reference.

How the Laocoon interacts with the Pergamum Altar visually and thematically is clear enough, but the context of its creation is much disputed. Pliny (*NH* 36.37) describes just such a work in the emperor Titus' palace, where it stood in 79 CE when Pliny died. He gives the names of its three Rhodian artists, who have been prosopographically located a century earlier. That date accords with the evidence of a homonymously signed work – a similarly baroque marble narrative group that adorned an Imperial dining complex installed in a cave at Sperlonga on the southern Latian coast. The style of a head from the scene of Scylla and Odysseus' shipwreck (that of the helmsman) (Figure 14.7) is close in style to the Laocoon (and similarly different from the Pergamum Alcyoneus). The shipwreck was one of several groups in the cave that portrayed dramatic episodes from the Trojan cycle of myth, each employing elements of the "Baroque" as appropriate to the subject. Blending Homeric with Virgilian themes, just as they blend Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman styles, the works are literary, emotionally engaging, and escapist.

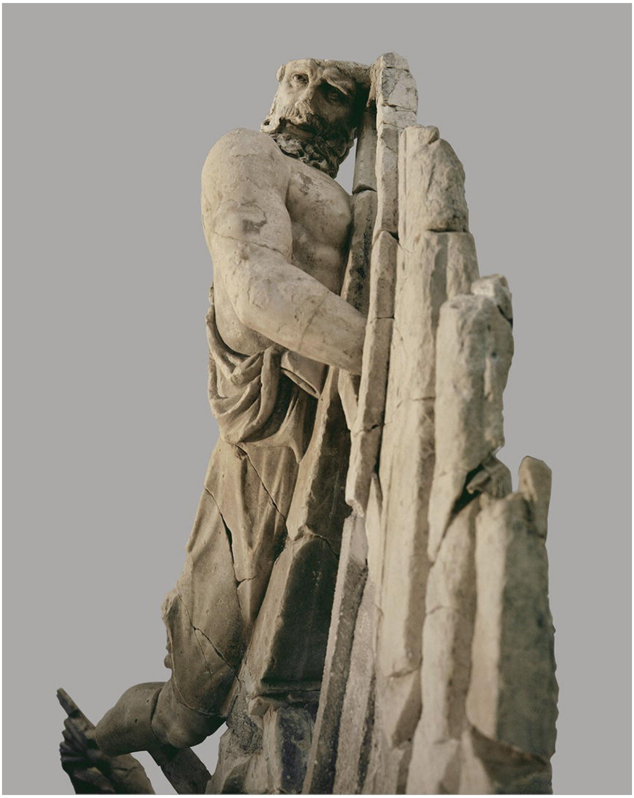


Figure 14.7 Athanodorus, Polydorus, and Agesandrus. Helmsman from Scylla group. Sperlonga, Archaeological Museum. Marble. Late first century (or later?). L. 5′ 3″ (1.6 m).

Source: akg-images/Erich Lessing.

The cave is mentioned as a retreat for the emperor Tiberius, but excavations there show that it was in use already in the late Republic and continued to function at least into the fourth century CE. Opinions differ on the date of this Rhodian workshop, its sculptural displays, and the issue of originality. Similarity between Laocoon and the Pergamum Altar has often prompted the assumption that the former copies a Hellenistic bronze of the second century, and the Sperlonga sculptures have been assessed similarly. Since the latter seem to have been designed specifically for the location of their display, they could only be adaptations from, rather than copies of, any pre-existing models. Most likely, all were created for Roman patrons by sculptors working in a

Hellenistic tradition, employing styles, figural types, and visual allusions that were considered appropriate to the subjects and themes selected. This marks a phenomenon of unbroken continuity not simply from the Hellenistic era but reaching back at least to the Classical. In Imperial Rome, as much as in democratic Athens, persuasion was power and art was rhetorical and mythopoeic. Like Cicero and his fellow rhetors arguing the relative merits of the Attic and Asiatic styles, sculptors of the time now had the freedom to choose the representational mode most suited to their purposes from options inherited from their Hellenistic predecessors.

Delos and the Classical Tradition

In jumping from Pergamum down to the time of Titus and back to Sperlonga, it has not been possible to consider just how, when, and where this specifically Hellenistic blending of Greek and Roman cultures took place. There is no single or easy answer, but the best candidate emerges, eventually and ironically, back on the island of Delos. This unprepossessing little rock, where our story began with the very first marble statuary of the early Archaic period, served in the fifth century as the heart of an alliance that spawned, or at least paid for, the Classical culmination that serves as the normative reference point for all of Greek art. Just as the first efflorescence was owed to its Naxian neighbors, and the second was the accomplishment of its Athenian kinsmen, so the third was created by its Roman conquerors. Soon after the Battle of Pydna the Romans awarded control of Delos to Athens and declared it a free port. They may have done this as punishment to the Rhodians, who, with fatally bad timing, were attempting to reconcile the Roman senate with Perseus just as the news of Pydna arrived in Rome. Rhodes did go into decline, but the Romans might simply have intended to reward Athens for its loyalty, or, more likely, they were perspicacious enough to see the economic boon such move would be for entrepreneurial Italian aristocrats, who were eager to share in the enrichment already enjoyed by the Roman patriciate. The result was in any case that agents of commerce (the slave trade in particular), Greek and Italian alike, flocked to the island, attracting sculptors (and architects, painters, mosaicists, and metalworkers) eager to exploit this newly burgeoning patronage of the parvenu. They would flourish there through the end of the century; a series of setbacks thereafter, including sacks by Mithradates (88) and pirates (69) and the rise of new trade centers, led to a sharp decline during the following eras of Roman rule. Thus there is from Delos a large corpus of Hellenistic art datable to the century following Pydna.

A demand for portraiture, especially useful for self-advertisement in a commercial center, apparently drew to Delos a prominent family of sculptors, founded by a Polycles of Athens and mentioned by Pliny as being active when "art revived" (see box) in the mid-second century. Stemmata of the family have been restored from signatures and attributions; documented sculptors names include two Polycles, two Timarchides, Timocles, and Dionysius. The family was wealthy and socially prominent. Their commissions were many, various in function, and widespread. They included the standard array of works in Greek sanctuaries, including cult images and, at Olympia, athlete statues. They were also chosen by Metellus, conqueror of Macedon in 148, to make the statues of Juno and Jupiter for two temples set up in Rome to commemorate his victory, allegedly the first marble temples there and themselves the works of a Greek architect. Among the spoils displayed in the surrounding colonnade was Lysippos' Granicus monument from Dion. According to Pausanias (10.34.7), their Athena at Elateia held a shield with reliefs copying those of the Parthenos, as the earlier Pergamum Athena reproduced its base relief. The works of these sculptors are therefore assumed to have been Classicizing in style, although the only one that survives substantially, and which does fulfill this expectation, is a portrait.

This statue, originally over nine feet tall, was erected as a public dedication in its own niche near the Agora of the Italians (Figure 14.8). Its inscribed base reads "The Italians [dedicate this] Gaius Ofellius Ferus, son of Marcus, on account of his fairness and benevolence toward them, to Apollo. Dionysius son of Timarchides and Timarchides son of Polycles, Athenians, made it." Like the cult statues in Rome, it was an Italian commission; as a work of the family's second and third generations, it was set up most likely in the last quarter of the century. The subject was a prominent figure in the commercial dealings of Delos, but he is given heroic form here, and if the attributes of a warrior, sword and spear, are correctly restored, it recalls the Doryphorus itself. The style of the statue is strikingly familiar. It has some Polyclitan heroic massiveness in its basic weight shift and general positioning of the legs. Yet, like Praxitelean works, its lean is exaggerated, its form slender and sinuous, and its musculature slightly blurred. More than anything, it looks like the Hermes of Olympia, and the two, as suggested above, may well be contemporary expressions of Hellenistic Classicism.

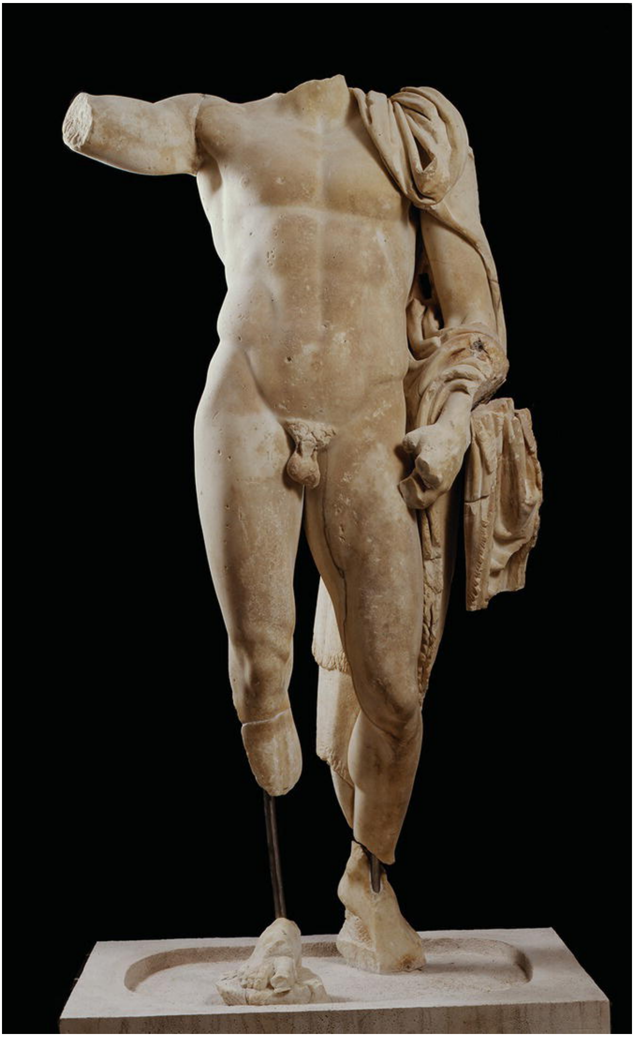


Figure 14.8 G. Ofellius. Delos, Archaeological Museum A4340. Marble. Circa 100. H. 9′ 2″ (2.8 m).

Source: l'École française d'Athènes.

The portrayal of a Roman citizen in so heroic a form and scale surprises us, and the shock might even have been greater were he not headless. Many portrait heads that do survive from the island provide a clue, and the odd juxtaposition they imply can be clearly envisioned in the famous Pseudo-athlete, also from Delos, whose subject and artist are not known (Figure 14.9). This statue is equally classicizing, but, with its heavier proportions, more linear definition of anatomy, and less animated pose, more thoroughly Polyclitan. His clean-shaven, close-cropped head is distinctly un-Classical, however, and the juxtaposition is jarring to the modern eye. Were it found in Italy one would call it **veristic**. On Delos it represents the Hellenistic tradition of characterization, in this case the Greek view of a westerner. Indeed, according to some accounts, what we call verism was not a Roman development at all but rather the product of Greek Hellenistic sculptors who sought to embody the alterity of their new masters and patrons.

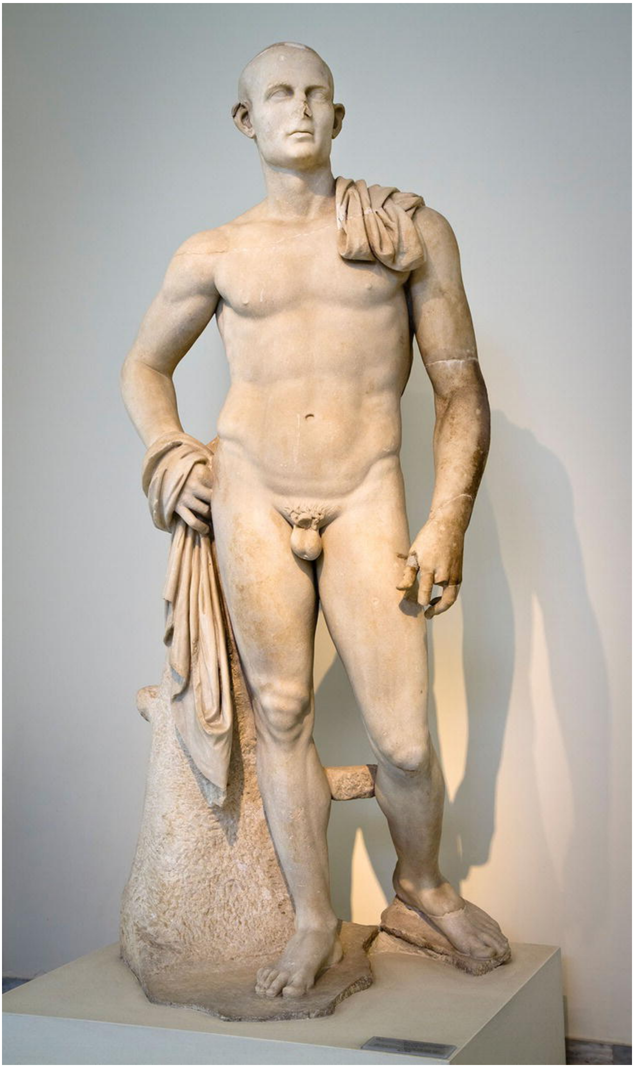


Figure 14.9 Pseudo-athlete. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1828. Marble. Circa 100. H. 8′ 4″ (2.55 m).

Source: © Erin Babnik/Alamy.

Heroic male portraiture of the kind that originated on Delos continued to be popular among Romans to the end of the Republic and into the Empire. It was also on Delos that were found the first examples of the so-called smaller Herculaneum type of heavily draped female (Figure 14.10), so commonly used for portraits throughout the Roman Empire that at least 160 examples have survived, exceeded only by the 180 of the larger Herculaneum type. The Delian example was found in a private house together with a “veristic” male head, so it may well have portrayed a Roman subject, although her head is entirely classicized, as was typical of Hellenistic female portraiture. The body type is not so eclectic as that of Ofellius Ferus; it has strong affinities with works of the late fourth century and it is most often taken to follow a prototype of that date. However, the exact type is not represented earlier, and, given the expertise with which the sculptors on Delos could work in an array of Classical styles, it is not impossible that the type as it occurs in these many Roman portraits was a Late Hellenistic Classicizing creation. Of course, these sculptors were not at all averse to carving marble copies of Classical works, as we see from the replica of Polyclitus’ Diadumenus – the earliest known “Roman copy” – found in the Delian house that takes its modern name from the statue (Figure 8.7).

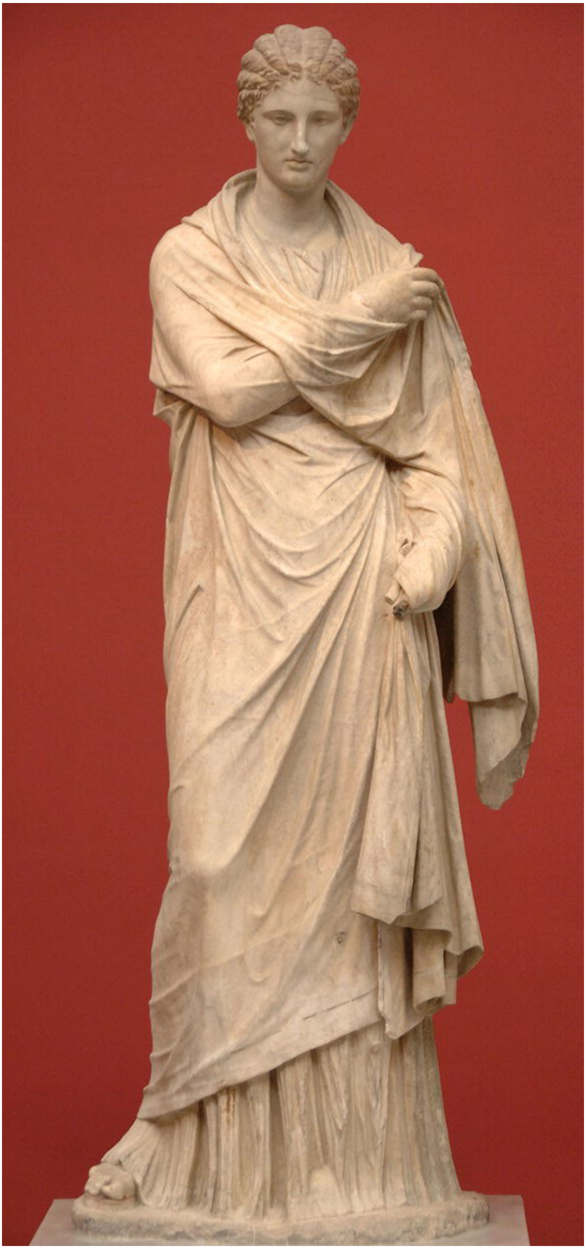


Figure 14.10 Statue of smaller Herculaneum woman type from Delos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1829. Marble. Circa 100. H. 5′ 9″ (1.75 m).

Source: © Prisma Archivo/Alamy.

In all these works Classical forms were used to lend an air of reserve, dignity, and even heroism to the subject, but very different effects – ironic, erotic, even blasphemous – were equally possible. A marble group of Aphrodite, Eros, and Pan, datable to the end of the century from the name of its dedicator, Dionysius of Berytus (Beirut), was set up in the headquarters of the Poseidoniasts, a commercial, social, and religious guild of Syrians resident on Delos (Figure 14.11). The action and meaning are at once patent and obscure. Pan aggressively pursues the goddess, his passion allegorized by the Eros who both separates and connects them. Aphrodite appears to resist his advance, in fact raising her sandal as if to ward him off, thus giving the group its common name – Slipper-Slapper. The stylistic difference between them would seem to further stress the gulf between the "Baroque" animal lust of the goat-horned rustic deity and the Classical idealism of the Olympian goddess. Indeed, the latter recalls the Aphrodite of Cnidus, whose pose she repeats with arms reversed; it is possible to assume falsely that connections obvious to us, with our paucity of preserved sculptures, were lost on contemporary viewers, but the Cnidia was, according to sources, so famous that the reference should have been a clear one. Was this simply an amusing, and erotic, allegory of sexual desire, or was there a deeper meaning? The Levantine origin of the dedicator has suggested a reference to prostitution through Astarte, Aphrodite's Near Eastern counterpart, as suggested also for the Cnidia herself. The sandal gesture has been interpreted in a number of ways. The slapping itself could have sexual associations, and, more subtly, it is also known that soles of sandals worn by prostitutes were sometimes studded on the bottom to spell "*akolouthei*" ("follow me") in the sand. Here again we are likely dealing with levels of meaning that vary with the viewer, in characteristically Hellenistic fashion.

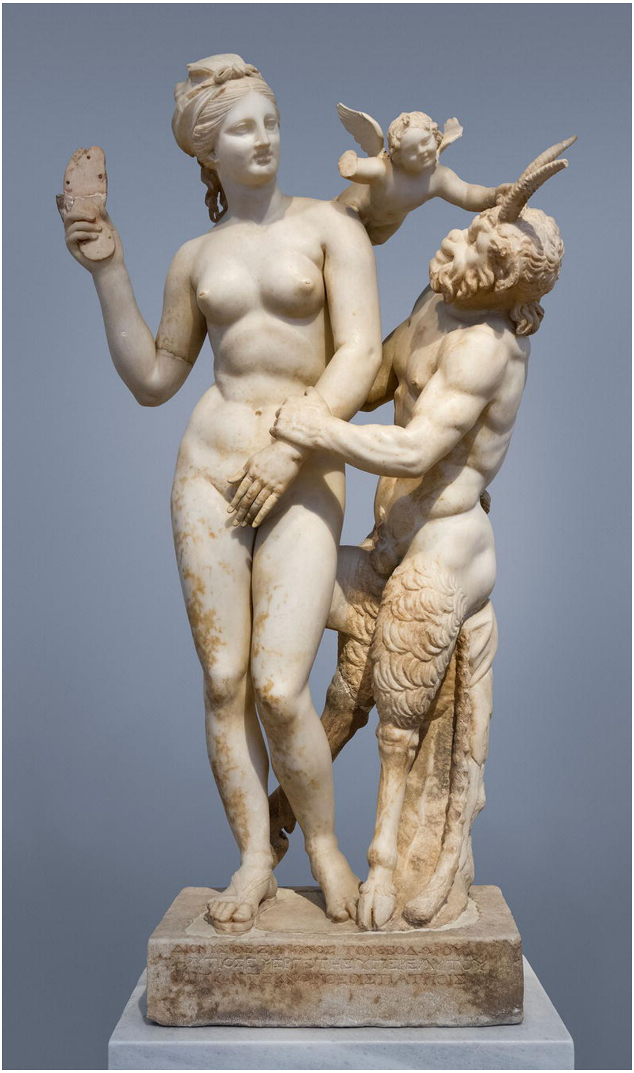


Figure 14.11 Slipper-Slapper from Delos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3335. Marble. Circa 100. H. 4′ 2″ (1.29 m).

Source: © Erin Babnik/Alamy.

It is tempting to see the so-called “Rococo” trend of this group as a phenomenon of the late period, and groups like this as simply atmospheric and amusing, like the many similar groups, called “*symplegmata*,” or “embracing figures,” often found in Roman houses. Yet, as is the case with every Hellenistic development so far considered, roots run deep here as well. The characterization of the prostitute was common in the New Comedy of the Early Hellenistic era, and Pliny specifically mentions *symplegmata* as among the products of the followers of Lysippus. Moreover, the inscription informs us that this was an explicitly religious dedication ("to ancestral deities"), not simply a decorative conversation piece or environmental accoutrement, as we generally assume much Roman garden sculpture to have been.

The Mahdia Wreck, Neo-Atticism, and the Roman Art Market

Yet it *was* exposure to works of this kind that led to the opulent statuary embellishment of Roman houses and villas, demonstrating how thoroughly immersed in Greek visual culture both the mercantile elite of Campania and the patrician aristocracy of Rome had become. As noted above, both chronological and geographical criteria have been applied to the problem of organizing and categorizing Hellenistic sculpture. From our brief review of two artistic centers, it is clear why neither work very well. Both Pergamum and Delos have produced prodigious quantities of sculpture, much of which is datable, and the inevitable conclusion from even a brief survey is that all the presumably distinct stylistic effects employed by sculptors in Hellenistic Greece – Olympian Classicism, "baroque" drama, "realistic" characterization, "rococo" eroticism and humor, to which one can also add Archaism – were both continuously and ubiquitously available options. These sites, both with substantial Roman presence in the second half of the second century, were two important sites of cultural interaction, where the Hellenistic and the Roman blended to the point that the distinction between them was not only elusive, it was eventually irrelevant. But how were the cultural interactions occurring in the east transmitted to Rome, and to the cities of Vesuvius where the results are so amply illustrated?

As it turns out, there is good evidence for the actual process of moving the former to the latter from the cargoes of two well-known shipwrecks, each discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century and each datable to the first half of the first century. One, in which the Late Classical Anticythera Youth (Figure 12.9) was found, contained an array of objects representing the full stylistic spectrum of Roman tastes, ranging in date from Classical to Late Hellenistic. The other, found off the North African coast near Mahdia in Tunisia, reflects a comparable chronological range, but a much greater proportion of works that were made closer to the time of their shipment. The subjects, materials, styles, and scales vary greatly. Many figures are patently Classicizing, others suggest the "Rhodian" baroque of Sperlonga, and three small bronze dancing dwarves are famous representatives of the "Alexandrian" style of highly exaggerated characterization (Figure 14.12). This is just the mix to be anticipated in a Late Hellenistic cargo, and what one would expect Roman customers to demand.

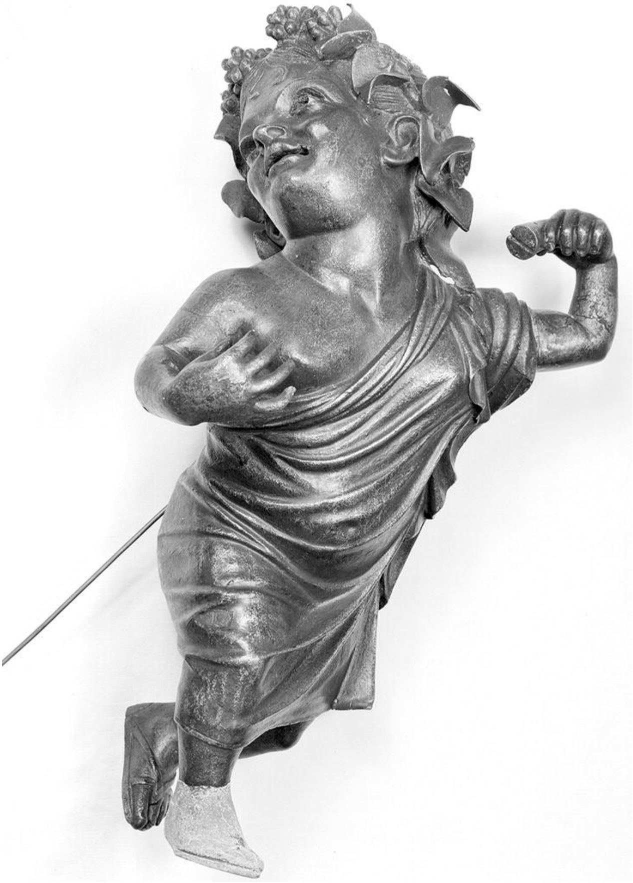


Figure 14.12 Dancing dwarf from Mahdia Wreck. Bronze. Second/first century. Tunis, Bardo Museum. H. 1′ 1″ (0.32 m).

Source: Tunis, Bardo Museum.

Representative of this stylistic variety, and surely the most celebrated of the Mahdia sculptures, are an Archaistic bronze herm and nude winged youth in a Classical-looking style (Figure 14.13). The former, of a type that is preserved also in marble, continues a tradition that is believed to go back to the later fifth century, perhaps to an original by Alcamenes, although the style of this herm is later. The motif of a figure leaning on an archaistic herm gained popularity along with the strongly leaning figure itself; it occurs already among the figures of the fourth-century Daochus Monument. For this reason, some take the statue and herm for a group, although some dissociate them. This is of some importance since the herm is signed by Boethus of Chalcedon, whose attributions include several statues of young boys, and whose signature is found also on Delos (twice) as well as Rhodes and whose works are cited at Olympia (displayed, interestingly, with the Hermes). The epigraphical evidence points to various stages in the second century, prompting the postulation of multiple homonymous sculptors. The Agon fits well within this era and within the wide-ranging stylistic variety represented on Delos as well as by the wreck itself. It is a winged version of the "Victorious Youth" in the Getty, reproducing its post-Lysippic stance, reversing the legs while maintaining a similar crowning action; its impression is even more lissome and animated. Commonly called Agon, the personification of contest itself, it is more often seen now as a corresponding god, Eros Enagonios.

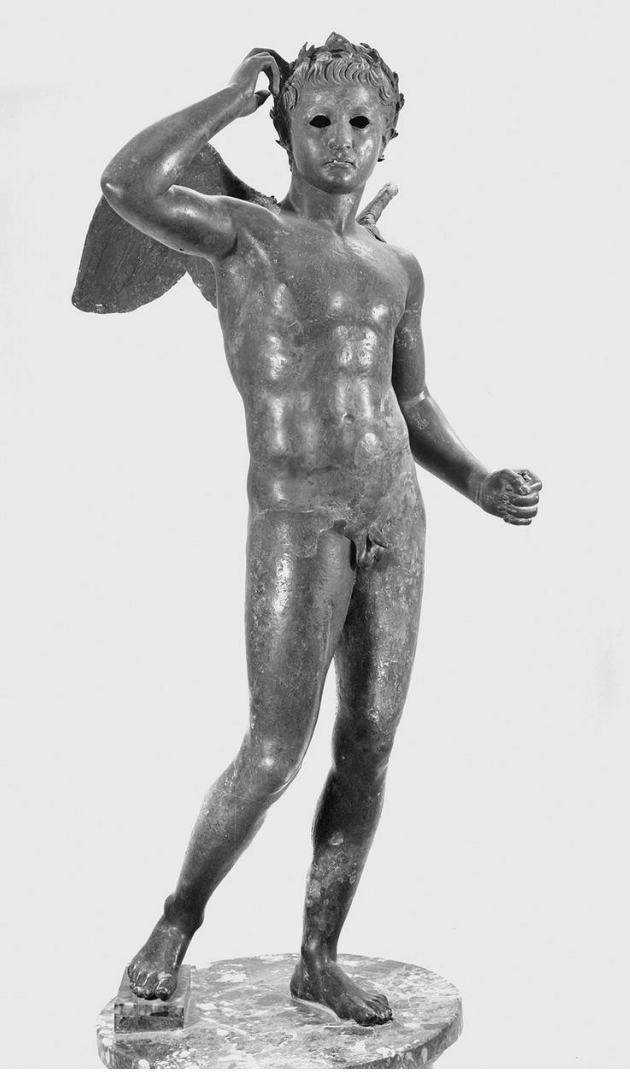


Figure 14.13 Winged youth (Agon or Eros) and herm (signed by Boethus of Chalcedon) from Mahdia Wreck. Bronze. Late Hellenistic. Tunis, Bardo Museum. H. (of herm) 3′ 3″ (1.0 m) (of youth) 4′ 7″ (1.4 m).

Source: Tunis, Bardo Museum.

It would be appropriate indeed to end with these two figures. One at least was made by a sculptor whose works were set up in both Greece and Rome and, in this case, also found in between. The

Classicizing youth that seems to invoke an already Classicizing prototype underscores the stylistic complexity of the subject at hand, and scholars are undecided as to whether his works were Early or Late Hellenistic, undermining further our confidence in using style as a chronological indicator. Finally, as a personification of competition, the "Agon" brings us back to the very beginning of Greek sculpture, and the very essence of its special status within the ancient world as an ever-changing art form responding to the fundamentally competitive nature not only of Greek craft, but of the entire Greek value system. However, the Mahdia ship never arrived at its intended port, and its cargo never adorned a Roman house or Campanian villa. To stop here would be to fail to reach our final destination in the story of Greek sculpture – Italy itself.

The most famous sculptor in Rome during the first century was a South Italian Greek by the name of Pasiteles. He was renowned, like Antigonus and Xenocrates in the third century, for both his sculpture and his scholarship, specifically his "five volumes on famous works throughout the world" (Pliny, *NH* 36.39). His studies apparently caused him, and his workshop, to have developed a particularly learned and eclectic mode of production, and reproduction, that is commonly designated as "Neo-Attic." This term was first coined in the mid-nineteenth century to designate epigraphically documented Athenian sculptors active in the Late Hellenistic/Roman Imperial period who worked in a Classical style, whether through copying or loose imitation. Pasiteles' status as a maker of statues must largely be inferred from the works of his pupils. One of them, Stephanus, signed as a student of Pasiteles a statue of a youth in Rome that blends Early Classical musculature and pose with Late Classical proportions (Figure 14.14). The so-called Stephanus Youth type is often copied both alone and combined with other, differing types in various sculptural groups. Nor is the mixing and matching limited to entire figures, since the same head type is used for a male in one of these so-called "Pasitelean" pastiches and for a female figure in another. Moreover, an entirely different classicizing group is signed by Menelaus, pupil of Stephanus. There is also, among the Mahdia sculptures, a torso very close to the Stephanus Youth, and another (much less well preserved) reflects a figure from

Menelaus’ group.

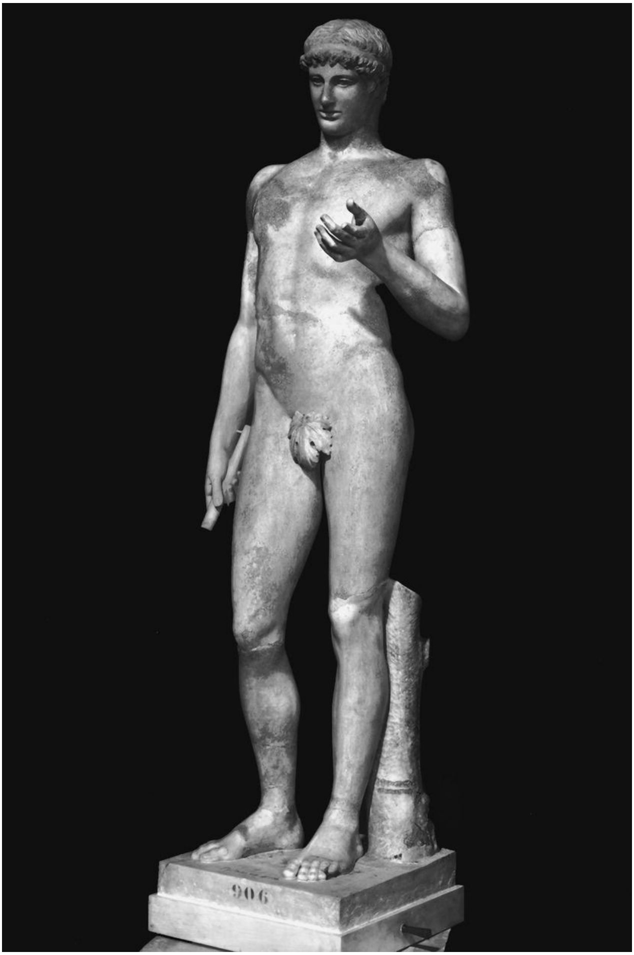


Figure 14.14 Stephanus. Classicizing statue of a youth. Rome, Villa Albani. Marble. Circa 50. H. 4′ 9″ (1.44 m).

Source: Alinari Archives, Florence.

The signed works of these Neo-Attic arts included not only statuary in bronze and marble but also marble vases with relief decoration. Moreover, the figural types used there recur with frequency on marble relief bases, altars, candelabra, puteals (well-heads), framed panels, oscillae (disc-shaped decorative reliefs), and even architectural terracottas. Whereas “Pasitelean” statuary is openly eclectic, studies on Neo-Attic reliefs have largely worked from the assumption that most or all the figural types and groupings that they depict were copied from actual Classical originals, although it is increasing conceded now that many were Late Hellenistic creations in Classicizing and Archaizing styles. There is no doubt that Classical models were sometimes copied, like the Piraeus reliefs (Chapter 8); indeed, as noted above, the sons of Polycles copied the Parthenos shield as early as the second century. Moreover, figural types resembling those found in Neo-Attic reliefs can be found in Classical, especially fourth-century, works including votive, architectural, and statue base reliefs. Some of these, however, are already retrospective and eclectic, such as the maenads on the Derveni Crater (Figures 13.1 and 13.2). These figural types were, like the Pergamum Parthenos and other works considered here, stylistically updated as they were re-created through the Hellenistic era. The process resulted, at the end of the second century, in a corpus of figural types that was then widely copied, in keeping with the new standards, and perhaps techniques, of replication that arose in response to an unprecedented demand for sculpture, especially for private use.

The Mahdia cargo contains the earliest datable examples of these “Neo-Attic” reliefs; from the extant fragments at least four craters and five candelabra can be documented. All are said to date just before or after 100 and are attributed to Athenian workshops. While the candelabra lack figural decoration, the craters are fully carved with large figures in bold relief and include two each of the so-called Pisa and Borghese types, named for later and more completely preserved examples. The former is especially eclectic, even for Neo-Attic work, as it combines figures from several different established sets of figural types. One figure – the so-called “Kid-Slayer,” was taken from what is the most discussed of all Neo-Attic types – the “Callimachean” maenads, which occur as a group on the famous marble crater signed by Sosibius the Athenian, thus a Neo-Attic work in the strictest sense of the term. (Figure 14.15). These figures, rendered in a style like that of the Nike parapet, are reproduced alone, together, and mixed with other figures on dozens of Roman works of various shapes, materials, and functions. Since the types are quite consistent, they are often taken as copies after a prominent public monument of the late fifth century, which is attributed, from brief literary descriptions of his style, to the sculptor Callimachus. However, the types are, much like the maenads on the Derveni Crater, Classicizing and could have been created any time, and in any artistic center, from the late fourth century to the time of their first usage for Neo-Attic work. Models must have existed in the Neo-Attic workshops, and artists could either reproduce an entire multi-figure scheme or some subset of that group, or select varying numbers of varying groups to create, in essence, a new monument that then could serve itself as a model for any number of further replicas.

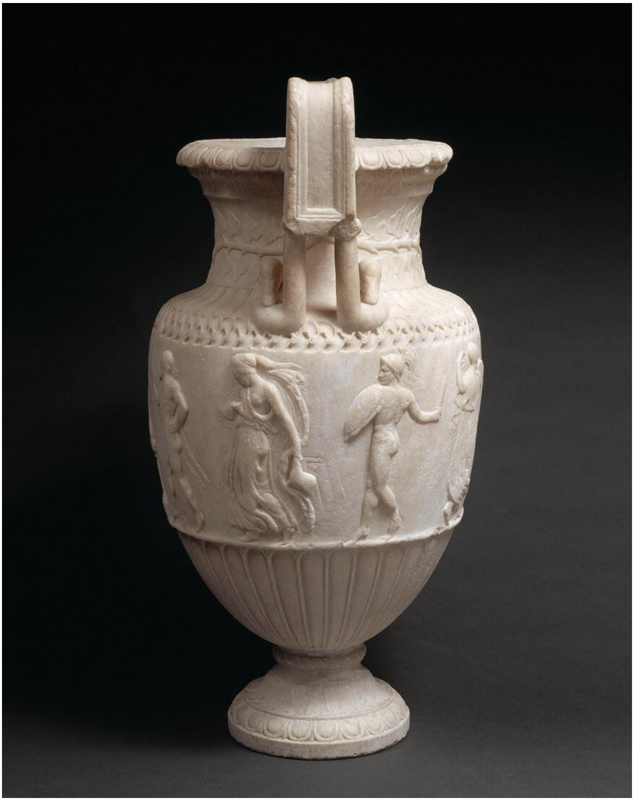


Figure 14.15 Neo-Attic volute crater signed by Sosibius. Detail of “Kid-Slayer”. Paris, Louvre MA442. Marble. Circa 50. H. (w/ foot restored) 2′ 6″ (0.78 m).

Source: © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/Hervé Lewandowski.

The “missing link” between the Classical and Late Hellenistic examples of Neo-Attic figural types may well have been provided through metalwork. Sosibius' vase, for example, is very close in form to the Derveni Crater from three centuries earlier, suggesting that the marble vases, which were first produced for the Roman market, were modeled after the more expensive metal objects. Production of the latter, moreover, persisted, indeed proliferated, throughout Hellenistic and into Roman times, and it can be closely connected with what we know of Neo-Attic work, with a shared repertoire of figural types employed on objects in both materials. Pasiteles himself was most famous not for his work in marble but for his metal vessels, and, as Pliny informs us, "[Pasiteles] said that modeling was the mother both of working sculpture in metal and of carving statues, and although he was outstanding in all these arts, he never made anything unless he made a model beforehand" (*NH* 35.156; tr. Pollitt 1990, 120).

As far as we know, Pasiteles and his school worked primarily in and around Rome, but the shipwreck evidence shows that very similar works were being made at sites stretching from Latium to Pergamum, and likely beyond. From the Mahdia wreck, therefore, one not only learns what goods were imported from Greece to Rome and the route they took but also gains an intimate glimpse into this blending of the Hellenic and the Italic. This by no means marks the end of production of Greek sculpture but rather a new beginning, in significantly different form, function, and context. It was the output of these Roman-era sculptors, virtually all Greek themselves, that filled the houses, villas, theaters, fora, baths, and libraries that the Romans built across the vastness of their holdings around the Mediterranean. Works preserving all the styles of Greek art were set up, manifesting the adopted Hellenistic culture of the Roman elite who forged this great empire, and, at the same time, creating a uniform monumental atmosphere and a striking visual culture that strongly supported political and military efforts to bind the culturally diverse Roman peoples into a coherent whole. In this the Romans succeeded where many Hellenistic kings, who were their functional *exempla*, had tried and failed.

It is likewise in this Roman form that a knowledge of Greek sculpture, at least in western Europe, came first to attract modern attention, beginning in the Renaissance and culminating in the eighteenth century with Enlightenment scholars such as Winckelmann. These Roman marble statues and reliefs prepared them, although perhaps not completely, for the amazing discoveries of the following century, when original Greek sculptures first became widely displayed in the west. It was in fact a Neo-Attic vase (perhaps Sosibius'), and not the Parthenon marbles, just recently set up in the British Museum, that inspired Keats' immortal lines:

When old age shall this generation waste,

Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe

Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty, that is all

Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know."

Illustrative, to be sure, of the idealist attitudes of the time (1819), and evoking the similarly eloquent and nostalgic sentimentality of Plutarch, the poet's expression of the timeless power of classical form still retains its validity even, or perhaps especially, within the ambiguities and complexities of the world today.

Glossary

Acrolithic
Having extremities of marble and body of another material (e.g., wood).

Acroterion
Sculpture set atop the roof, at the gable peak (central) or corners (lateral).

Adyton
Back room of a sekos, closed to the outside.

Agalma(pl. agalmata)
Literally "pleasing thing," often used to mean "statue."

Agonistic
Concerned with contest (*agon*).

(A)etiology
Study of or referring to an original cause (*aition*).

Alcmaeonids
Noble family of Athens; includes Megacles and Cleisthenes.

Amazonomachy
One of several battles between Greeks and Amazons.

Anastole
A "raising up," specifically, the central upswept locks of hair that characterize portraits of Alexander.

Anthropomorphic
In human form.

Apobates
Race in which armed warriors jump off and on a moving chariot.

Apotropaic
"Turning back." An emblem that is intended to ward off evil.

Archon
"Ruler." In Athens, one of the nine chief magistrates, elected annually after 683.

Aretē

“Excellence,” specifically manly virtue, including courage, nobility, and restraint.

Arrhephoroi

“Bearers of things unspoken of.” Two young girls who spent a year in service to Athena Polias.

Autochthonous

Born from the earth and/or having always lived in the same place.

Caduceus

Staff with snakes used as an attribute of Hermes, Asclepius.

Caryatid

Female statue used in place of a column.

Cella (naos)

Primary room of a temple.

Cenotaph

Commemorative funerary monument that does not mark a grave.

Centaur

Beast combining human and equine form.

Centauromachy

One of several battles between centaurs and humans.

Cerameicus (Sacred Gate; Dipylon Gate)

“Potter’s Quarter;” the excavated area contains parts of the city wall with two gates, outside of which lie a major private cemetery and the public burial ground (*demosion sema*) for war dead.

Charis

Personification of grace; also refers to divine favor given in exchange for votive offering.

Chiasmos

Structural pattern of balanced opposites, especially in standing nude male sculpture.

Chiton

Long thin garment, usually sleeved. The short version is called chitoniskos.

Chryselephantine

Gold and ivory.

Chthonic

Having to do with the underworld and/or afterlife.

Contrapposto

A type of weight shift that results in balance across a median axis. Often used for any weight-shift pose.

Cornucopia

"Horn of plenty," usually an attribute of Tyche (fortune), but also used to imply prosperity in other personifications.

Cosmos

Greek term denoting both "order" and "universe." Refers to comprehensive controlling force in philosophy.

Cult statue

Conventional term (not without its detractors) for statue set at the back of the cella of a temple. It is believed to mark or invite the presence of the deity at cult activities taking place before it.

Daedalic

Orientalizing style in art primarily of the seventh century. For its features see "*Orientalizing and the Daedalic Style*" in Chapter 1.

Demos

Citizen body.

Diadochoi

"Followers" of Alexander, friends and/or high officers in his army from among whom the founders of the Hellenistic kingdoms emerge.

Dialectic

In philosophy, use of argumentation to present and clarify an issue. Generally used for process of back-and-forth exchange.

Dipteral

Having two peristyles.

Dorian

Dialect group primarily located in the Peloponnese, Crete, and southern Aegean islands, believed to result from a "Dorian Invasion" during the Dark Age.

Doric

One of the three Greek architectural orders. Also used of Dorian dialect.

Encaustic

Painting technique that uses wax as a pigment binder.

Entasis

Slight swelling in the profile of a column.

Ephebe

Male youth at the point of undertaking military training and thus becoming an adult.

Epiphanic

An image's quality of embodying the experience of a divine appearance (epiphany).

Eris

(Goddess of) strife or struggle.

Ethnic

In signatures and other inscriptions, term indicating native polis.

Fillet

Ribbon of cloth, used as a funerary offering, or worn tied around the head as a prize/sign of victory in athletic contests or indicator of Hellenistic kingship.

Gigantomachy

Battle between Olympian deities and the giants who preceded them; references establishment of divine order.

Gorgon

Female monster (e.g., Medusa) with snaky locks whose visage could turn one to stone. Represented in widely varying forms.

Gorgoneion

Face of the Gorgon, used alone as emblem, generally apotropaic.

Guilloche

Cable pattern.

Hecataeum (pl. hecataea)

Triple-bodied image of Hecate.

Hekatompedon

Hundred-footer, usually in reference to a temple.

Helots

Subject peasant population of Laconia and Messenia that supported Sparta’s military elite.

Hexastyle

Having six columns.

Himation

Heavy wrapped mantle.

Humanism/humanistic

Belief that mankind is, to some degree, in control of its own circumstances rather than being entirely subject to fate/divine will.

Hymettian marble

Blue–grey stone from Mt Hymettos, often used for color contrast with white Pentelic marble. Both sources are in Attica.

Iliupersis

Sack of Troy.

In antis

Located between the thickened wall ends (*antae*) at the front of the sekos (usually a pronaos).

Intercolumniation

Distance between two adjacent columns.

Ionian

Greek inhabitants of Ionia, the central section of coastal Asia Minor; also a group of dialects including those of not only Ionia, but also Attica and the Cyclades. “Ionian” identity was used to create an ancient familial bond between the inhabitants of the Aegean and the Athenians.

Ionic

One of the Greek architectural orders; also used of Ionian dialect.

Kalokagathia

“Good and Beautiful”

a concept that binds together moral and physical beauty.

Kleos

Fame or glory.

Kore (pl. korai)

An unwed girl. Used (in modern times) for the Archaic draped female statues used as votives and grave markers.

Kouros (pl. kouroi)

Archaic standing nude male figure.

Lyric poets

Composers of (usually) short sung poetry in various meters, often with highly personal and emotional subject matter.

Meander

Key pattern, very popular in Geometric art, but used throughout Greek art.

Mesogeia

Generally refers to the agricultural Attic interior plain as opposed to the fortified center (*asty*), mountains or coastline.

Metope

Panel alternating with triglyphs in Doric frieze. Often hold sculptured, occasionally painted, decoration.

Monopteros

Peristyle building with no sekos.

Morellian connoisseurship

Named for Giovanni Morelli, nineteenth-century physician, who developed method of attributing paintings to artists by observing very fine details.

Moschophoros

Calf-bearer.

Naiskos (pl. naiskoi)

Small, temple-like structure, usually with two columns.

Naos (see cella)

“Temple,” in ancient Greek. More often used today for the cella alone.

Neo-Attic

Originally used of a group of late Hellenistic and Roman sculptors who signed with Athenian ethnics. Now extended variously to refer to works of that period that display Classicizing and Archaizing styles, often using fixed figural types.

Oikos

“House” Also household, and by extension, family.

Omphalos
“Navel.” That at Delphi, used as an attribute of Apollo, was held to be the center of the universe.

Opisthodomus
Back porch of a temple.

Order, architectural
Set of features in plan and elevation that define a type or style of decoration of monumental architecture. Most important in Greece were Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian.

Orthostate
Lower section of wall, often thickened or otherwise set off to articulate its supportive function.

Panathenaia
Festival of Athena Polias and most important of the many held annually in Athens. Culminated in presentation of Panathenaic peplos. The quadrennial Greater Panathenaia included a prestigious series of games, some of which were open to non-Athenians.

Pancratium/pancratiast
Brutal athletic contest combining elements of wrestling and boxing.

Panhellenic
Common to all Greeks.

Paryphe
Widened central pleat of a draped garment, often decorated.

Patronymic
In signatures and other inscriptions, term indicating father’s name.

Pediment
Area within the gable at the end of a temple or similar structure.

Peplos
Heavy woolen garment worn by women. Used of two rather different garments, one common in early Archaic times, the other in Classical and later eras.

Perceptual
A rendering that focuses on reproducing things as they appear

more than as they actually are.

Periegete

Traveler. Used generally of travel writers or geographers such as Pausanias or Strabo.

Perirrhanterion

Water basin usually located for lustral purposes at entrance to a sacred area.

Physiognomics

Study of the relationship between human outward appearance and inner nature.

Plinth

Section of stone cut together with feet of statue to allow setting into a base.

Polemarch

Military ruler generally. In Athens, at first one of the archons, later of the generals (strategoi), with military authority over colleagues.

Polis (pl. poleis)

Greek city-state.

Polos

Cylindrical headgear, either tall or flat, worn by goddesses in Near Eastern and Orientalizing Greek art.

Polychromy

Use of multiple colors.

Potnia Theron

“Mistress of the Beasts” early Greek representation of goddess most often associated with Artemis.

Promanteia

Priority of consultation with oracle.

Pronaos

Front porch of a temple.

Prostyle

Columns set in front of (rather than between) temple wall ends (*antae*).

Psychopompus

Conductor of souls, especially used of Hermes.

Pteroma

Space in temple between sekos and peristyle.

Sacrifice

Offering to deity, usually of an animal, offered in hope of obtaining divine favor.

Sanctuary

Defined sacred area containing temple, treasuries, and other cult and associated buildings.

Satrap

Regional governor in Persian Empire.

Sekos

interior structure of temple, including cella, pronaos, and opisthodomos/adyton, if present.

Sima

Raised gutter along roof edge.

Sophist

Professional teacher of rhetoric and/or philosophy, especially in Classical Athens.

Sophrosyne

Prudence or considered restraint. Held to be an essential human virtue in avoiding transgressions that might bring down divine retribution.

Strategos

General. Ten were elected annually in Athens.

Strigil

Body-scraper used by athletes after training or competition.

Stylobate

Top surface of temple platform on which wall and columns rested.

Symmetria

Principle of commensurability of parts associated especially with Polyclitus and Lysippus.

Synchronism

Dating method that depends on connecting undated finds from one culture with datable objects from one or more other cultures.

Synoptic or compressed narrative

A scene that implies narrative by depicting together elements from sequentially separate episodes.

Temenos
Sanctuary

Tetrastyle
Having four columns

Thiasos
Procession of Dionysus with attendants (satyrs, silens, nymphs, maenads), often orgiastic.

Tholos
Round building.

Treasury
Small temple-like building set up by a polis in a Panhellenic sanctuary (primarily Delphi and Olympia) as a communal votive offering and a repository for offerings by the polis and its citizens.

Triglyph
Element separating metopes in Doric frieze.

Tripod cauldron
Large three-legged bowl, usually bronze, used as prizes in athletic competitions, and, by extension, as victory dedications and emblems of victory.

Tympanum
the back wall of a pediment.

Tyrant
Ruler of a polis whose authority rests on popular support. Characteristic especially of the Archaic period.

Verism/veristic
From *verus* (in Latin, “true”). Of portraiture, indicates an image that appears to represent its subject with exact verisimilitude, with no suppression of flaws or signs of age. Contrasts with idealism.

Votive
An object dedicated to a deity, in hope of obtaining divine favor.

Xenia
“Guest-friendship.” A form of alliance between an individual

(usual of the social elite) and a citizen or citizens of a different poleis, or the polis itself.

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Timeline: History

Circa 2000–1400	Minoan Palace Civilization.
Circa 1500–1100	Mycenaean Civilization.
Circa 1200	Fall of Mycenaean citadels.
Circa 1100–900	"Dark Age."
Twelfth century?	Trojan War (traditional date).
Eleventh century?	Ionian Migrations.

GEOMETRIC (900–700)

Eighth century	Late Geometric Revival.
776	First Olympic Games.
Circa 750–590	Greek expansion and colonization.

ARCHAIC (700–480)

594 (or later)	Solon lawgiver in Athens.
566	Panathenaia in Athens reorganized, games established.
Circa 560–527	Tyranny of Pisistratus in Athens (w/interruptions).
First half sixth century	Tyranny of Cleisthenes in Sicyon.
546	Cyrus' defeat of Croesus of Lydia; Persians conquer Asia Minor.
538–522	Tyranny of Polycrates on Samos.

525	Sack of Siphnos by Samian exiles.
527–510	Tyranny of Hippias (and Hipparchos) in Athens.
514	Assassination of Hipparchos by Harmodius and Aristogiton.
513	Battle of Leipsydrion.
510	Expulsion of Hippias.
507	Reorganization of Athenian state under Cleisthenes.
499–493	Ionian Revolt.
498	Burning of Sardis.
494	Sack of Miletos.
492–490	First Persian Invasion of Greece.
490	Sack of Eretria, Battle of Marathon.

EARLY/HIGH CLASSICAL (480–400)

480–479	Second Persian Invasion.
480	Sack of Athens, Battle of Salamis.
479	Battles of Plataea and Mycale.
478	Formation of Delian League.
480–461	Era of Cimonian ascendence in Athens.
Circa 491–465	Deinomenid tyrants at Syracuse, Gela.
457	Battle of Tanagra.
Circa 465–429	Era of Periclean ascendence.
454	Delian League treasury moved to Athens.
431	Peloponnesian War begins.

425	Athenian victory on Sphacteria.
421	Peace of Nicias.
416	Melian revolt.
415–413	Athenian Expedition against Sicily.
413	Battle at Syracuse.
411–410	Oligarchic Coup at Athens.
405	Athenian forces destroyed at Aegospotami.
404	Athens surrenders; end of Peloponnesian War.
404–403	Rule of Thirty Tyrants at Athens.
403	Restoration of democracy in Athens.

LATE CLASSICAL (400–323)

394	Corinthian War.
386	King’s Peace.
377–355	Second Athenian Confederacy.
373	Battle of Leuctra.
359–336	Philip II of Macedon.
338	Battle of Chaeronea.
336–323	Alexander III (the Great) of Macedon.
334	Battle of the Granicus.
333	Battle of Issus.
331	Battle of Gaugamela.
330	Alexander crowned Great King of Persia.
323	Alexander dies at Babylon.

HELLENISTIC (323–30)

323–circa 280	Era of Diadochs. Hellenistic kingdoms are formed.
197	Defeat of Philip V by Rome (Second Macedonian War); Battle of Cynoscephalae.
190	Defeat of Antiochos III by Rome and her allies.
188	Treaty of Apamea reduces Seleucid Dynasty, extends Pergamene power.
168	Defeat of Perseus by Rome (Third Macedonian War); Battle of Pydna.
167	Delos declared free port under Athenian control.
148	Defeat of Andriscus by Rome (Fourth Macedonian War).
146	Macedonia made province of Rome.
144	Corinth sacked; Greece made province of Rome (Achaea).
133	Pergamene kingdom willed to Rome by Attalos III; made province of Rome (Asia).
88	Delos sacked by Mithridates VI of Pontus.
69	Delos sacked by pirates.
63	Seleucid Dynasty ends; kingdom made province of Rome (Syria).
31	Battle of Actium; Egyptian fleet defeated by Octavian (later Augustus).
30	Deaths of M. Antonius and Cleopatra VII.

Ptolemaic dynasty ends; kingdom made province of Rome (Egypt).

Timeline: Architectural Sculpture

Circa 1250	Mycenae, Lion Gate.

GEOMETRIC (900–700)

ARCHAIC (700–480)

Circa 625–600	Prinias, Crete, Temple A. Lintel block and friezes.
Circa 570	Corfu, Temple of Artemis. Pediments and metopes.
Circa 560–550	Athens, Acropolis. Large limestone pediment.
Circa 560–550	Delphi, Sicyonian Treasury. Metopes.
Circa 560–540	Selinus, Temple Y. Metopes.
Circa 550	Athens, Acropolis. Introduction pediment.
Circa 550–520	Selinus, Temple C. Metopes.
Circa 540–530	Didyma, Temple of Apollo. Marble sculptured column drum fragment.
Circa 525	Delphi, Siphnian Treasury. Pediments, friezes, caryatids.
Circa 510–500	Athens, Acropolis. Old Athena Temple. Gigantomachy Pediment.
Circa 500	Eretria, Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros. West

	Pediment.
Circa 490	Delphi, Athenian Treasury. Metopes.
Circa 490–470	Aegina, Temple of Aphaea. East and West Pediments.

EARLY/HIGH CLASSICAL (480–400)

Circa 460	Olympia, Temple of Zeus. Pediments and metopes.
Circa 460	Selinus, Temple E. Metopes.
Circa 450	Athens, Hephaesteum. Metopes.
447–circa 442	Parthenon, Athens. Metopes.
Circa 440–435	Parthenon, Athens. Frieze.
438–432	Parthenon, Athens. Pediments
Circa 425	Hephaesteum. Friezes.
Circa 425–423	Athens, Acropolis. Temple to Athena Nike. Friezes.
Circa 420	Athens, Acropolis. Sanctuary of Athena Nike. Parapet.
421(?)–409	Athens, Acropolis. Erechtheum. Caryatids.
409–406	Athens, Acropolis. Erechtheum. Frieze.
Circa 420–400	Argive Heraion, Temple to Hera. Pediments. Metopes.
Circa 410–400	Bassae, Temple to Apollo Epicurius. Metopes. Friezes.

LATE CLASSICAL (400–323)

Circa 380–370	Nereid Monument, from Xanthus. Friezes. Statuary.
Circa 375	Epidaurus, Temple of Asclepius. Pediments. Acroteria.
Circa 350	Halicarnassus, Mausoleum. Friezes. Statuary.
Circa 340	Tegea, Temple of Athena Alea. Pediments.
Circa 330	Delphi, Temple of Apollo. Pediments.
Circa 330–300	Ephesos, Temple of Artemis. Column drums and pedestals.

HELLENISTIC (323–30)

Circa 160	Pergamum Altar. Gigantomachy and Telephos Friezes.

Timeline: Freestanding Sculpture

GEOMETRIC (900–700)

Circa 900	Terracotta centaur from cemetery at Lefkandi, Euboea.
Circa 750–700	Small bronze votives from Olympia and elsewhere.
Circa 720	Figurine from Dipylon Cemetery, Cerameikos, Athens.
Circa 700	Statues from Temple to Apollo at Dreros, Crete.

ARCHAIC (700–480)

Circa 675	Male figure (Apollo?) dedicated to Apollo by Mantiklos.
Circa 650	Votive figurine from Gortyna, Crete.
Circa 650–600	Relief from Gortyna, Crete, with divine triad.
Circa 650–600	Statuette from Samian Heraeum, Samos.
Circa 650–600	“Lady from Auxerre.”
Circa 620–600	Bronze “kouros” statuette from Sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi.
Circa 620–600	Perirrhanterion from

	Sanctuary of Poseidon, Isthmia.
Circa 600	Kore dedicated by Nikandre from Delos.
Circa 600–580	Kouros from Attica (“New York Kouros”).
Circa 590–580	Kouros from Sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion.
Circa 580–570	Kleobis and Biton.
Circa 570	Kouros from Orchomenos, Boeotia.
Circa 570	Colossal kouros from Heraeum, Samos.
Circa 570–560	Cheramyes’ dedications from the Heraeum at Samos.
Circa 570–560	Kore from Attica (“Berlin Kore”).
Circa 560	Kouros from Volomandra (Attica).
Circa 560	Naxian Sphinx from Sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi.
Circa 560	Moschophoros (“Calf-Bearer”) from Acropolis.
Circa 560–550	Naxian Kore from Acropolis (677).
Circa 550	“Rampin” Rider from Acropolis.
Circa 550	Kouros from Melos.
Circa 550	Kouros from Paros.
Circa 550	Nike from Delos.
Circa 550	Tenea kouros.
Circa 540	Kore from Merenda,“Phrasikleia.”
Circa 540–530	Chryselephantine statue of Apollo.
Circa530	Kouros from Anavysos, “Croesus”.

Circa 530–520	“Peplos” Kore from Acropolis (679).
Circa 520	“Antenor’s” Kore from Acropolis (681).
Circa 510	Stele of Aristion from Attica, signed by Aristocles.
Circa 510	Kouros base from Themistoclean Wall.
Circa 500	Kore from Acropolis (674).
Circa 500	Aristodikos’ Kouros.
Circa 500	Seated Scribe from Acropolis.
Circa 490	Nike from Acropolis dedicated in honor of Callimachus.
Circa 490–480	Kore from Acropolis dedicated by Euthydicus.
Circa 480	Kritian Boy.

EARLY/HIGH CLASSICAL (480–400)

Circa 480	Euenor Athena from Acropolis dedicated by Angelitus.
477	Tyrannicides by Kritios and Nesiotes.
Circa 470–460	Charioteer from Apollo Sanctuary, Delphi.
Circa 460	Zeus or Poseidon from Cape Artemision.
Circa 460?	Marble youth (charioteer?) from Motya.
Circa 460–450	Penelope.
Circa 460–450	Relief with Athena from Acropolis.
Circa 460–450	Myron. Discobolos.

Circa 460–450	Myron. Athena and Marsyas.
Circa 450	Riace Warriors A & B.
Circa 450–440	Polyclitus. Doryphoros.
438	Phidias. Athena Parthenos.
Circa 430	Polyclitus. Diadumenus.
Circa 430–420	Kresilas(?). Portrait of Pericles.
Circa. 430–420	Stele of Eupheros.
Circa 430–420	Cat Stele.
Circa 425	Agoracritus. Nemesis of Rhamnous.
425–420	Paionios. Nike of Olympia.
Circa 420	Alkamenes. Procne and Itys from Acropolis.
Circa 420–400	Alkamenes. Hekate Epipyrgidia.
Circa 410–400	Hegeso Stele.

LATE CLASSICAL (400–323)

Circa 370	Cephisodotus. Eirene and Plutus.
Circa 350	Praxiteles(?). Hermes and Infant Dionysus (or Hellenistic).
Circa 350	Praxiteles. Aphrodite of Cnidus.
Circa 350	Praxiteles. Sauroctonus.
Circa 350	Relief from the Asclepium in Athens.
Circa 340	Euphranor. Apollo Patroos.
Circa 340	Scopas(?). Maenad.
Circa 335	Agias from Daochus Monument.
Circa 330	Lysippus. Apoxyomenus.

Circa 340	Youth from Anticythera wreck.
Circa 330	Youth from the sea off Marathon.
Circa 330	Stele from Ilissos.
Circa 320	Stele of Aristonautes.
Circa 330	Derveni krater.

HELLENISTIC (323–30)

Circa 330–320	Portraits of Alexander.
Circa 320	Alexander Sarcophagus.
Circa 300	Eutychides. Tyche of Antioch.
Circa 300	Chaerestratus. Themis from Rhamnous.
Circa 280	Portrait of Demetrius Poliorcetes.
280	Polyeuctus. Portrait of Demosthenes.
Early third century?	“Victorious Youth” bronze.
Circa 230–220	Gaul dedications at Pergamum by Attalos I.
Third/second century?	Nike of Samothrace.
Circa 200	Damophon. Statue Group in Temple of Demeter and Despoina, Lycosoura.
Circa 180	Athena from Library at Pergamum.
Circa 100	Dionysius and Timarchides. Portrait of G. Ofellius Ferus.
Circa 100	Pseudo-athlete.
Circa 100	Slipper-Slapper from Delos.
Circa 100	Statue of Smaller Herculaneum Woman type from Delos.

First century	Dancing Dwarf from Mahdia Wreck.
First century	Winged youth (Agon or Eros) and Herm (signed by Boethus of Chalcedon) from Mahdia Wreck.
First century	Stephanus. Classicizing statue of a youth.
First century	Sosibius. Neo-Attic volute krater.
First century	Athanodorus, Polydorus, and Agesandrus. Sperlonga Scylla group
First century?	Athanodorus, Polydorus, and Agesandrus(?). Laocoon and his Sons.

Timeline: Literature/Philosophy

(Dates for primary era of activity)

GEOMETRIC (900–700)

Eighth/seventh century	Homer.
Eighth/seventh century	Hesiod.

ARCHAIC (700–480)

Seventh/sixth century	Early Lyric poets (e.g. Solon).
Early to mid-sixth century	Milesian philosophers: Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes.
Later sixth to fifth century	Xenophanes.
End sixth to fifth century	Heraclitus.
Later sixth to 468	Simonides.
Early fifth century	Parmenides.
492	Phrynicus' tragedy *Capture of Miletos* performed in Athens.

EARLY/HIGH CLASSICAL (480–400)

First half fifth century	Pindar.
First half fifth century	Aeschylus.
468–405	Sophocles.

455–406	Euripides.
Circa 460–425	Herodotus.
Circa 430–395	Thucydides.
Circa 427–386	Aristophanes.
Circa 450–420	Protagoras.
Circa 440–399	Socrates (forced suicide in 399).

LATE CLASSICAL (400–323)

Circa 400–348	Plato.
Circa 360–322	Aristotle.
Circa 340–287	Theophrastus.

HELLENISTIC (323–30)

Circa 300–?	Library and Museum at Alexandria; “Alexandrian” poetry.
Early third century	First histories of art by Xenocrates and Antigonus.
Early second century to end first century	Library at Pergamum.
Early first century	Pasiteles’ five volumes on works of art.

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  limestone
  lyric poets
  marble
  Milesian philosophers
  Samos and the East
  Solon
  stone
  Thales
  votive sculpture
relief sculpture
  free-standing sculpture
  Iron Age (circa 1000–600)

  regional styles (circa 600–550)
  sixth-century architectural sculpture
  Early Classical (circa 470–450)
  High Classical (circa 450–420)
  Late Classical (circa 420–330)
  Hellenistic (circa 330–50)
religion
  Iron Age (circa 1000–600)
  Late Classical (circa 390–330)

Riace Warriors
ritual practices
Rome
  art market
  Hellenistic (circa 200–50)
  patronage
  Roman conquest
royal portraiture

sacrifice
  free-standing sculpture
  Iron Age (circa 1000–600)
  High Classical (circa 450–420)
  Late Classical (circa 390–330)
  regional styles (circa 600–550)
Samos
sanctuary
  Athena Nike
  Early Classical (circa 500–450)

  - Late Classical (circa 390–330)
  - *see also* Panhellenic sanctuaries
- Scopas
- silver
- Solon
- Sophists
- Sperlonga
- stone
  - Iron Age (circa 1000–600)
  - regional styles (circa 600–550)
  - High Classical (circa 450–430)
  - Late Classical (circa 420–330)
  - Hellenistic (circa 330–200)

- Temple of Apollo at Delphi
- Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae
- Temple of Artemis at Ephesus
- Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus
- Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea
- Temple of Zeus at Olympia
- terracotta
- Thales
- Thucydides
  - High Classical (circa 430–420)
  - Late Classical (circa 420–390)
  - Hellenistic (circa 330–200)
- tyranny

- Vitruvius
  - High Classical (circa 450–430)

  - sixth-century architectural sculpture
- votive sculpture
  - Iron Age (circa 1000–600)
  - regional styles (circa 600–550)
  - Early Classical (circa 470–450)
  - free-standing sculpture
  - High Classical (circa 430–420)
  - Late Classical (circa 390–330)
  - Hellenistic (circa 330–200)
- Winckelmann, Johann Joachim
- Zeus
  - free-standing sculpture
  - sixth-century architectural sculpture
  - Early Classical (circa 500–450)
  - High Classical (circa 450–420)
  - Late Classical (circa 420–390)
  - Hellenistic (circa 200–50)

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